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VERNER'S LAW IN ITALY

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AN ESSAY

IN THE HISTORY OF

THE INDO-EUROPEAN SIBILANTS

BY

R. SEYMOUR CONWAY, B.A.

FOUNDATION SCHOLAR OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
WADDINGTON CLASSICAL SCHOLAR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
EXHIBITIONER IN LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,

WITH A

DIALECT MAP OF ITALY

BY

E. HEAWOOD, B.A., F.R.G.S.

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VERNER'S LAW IN ITALY

same place, as the essay is primarily concerned only with Medial Rhotacism in Italic.

Results hitherto accepted.

4. Before concluding this introduction by a statement of the 'laws' I shall endeavour to justify in the following chapters, it will be convenient to review our present state of knowledge on the subject.

Latin.

The rule for Latin that *s* became *r* between two vowels has a fairly large number of exceptions; the only methods of explaining them hitherto, so far as I know, have been to treat them as borrowed words, to suppose *s* reduced from an original *ss*, or to assume that the word first came into use after the rhotacism had ceased. These of course must still hold good wherever they can be proved, and the last may be our only resource, provisionally, where we can detect no other variation in the phonetic history of the sound, but we are not committing any inconsistency in rejecting it if a more probable cause suggests itself. Moreover there are a certain number of words for which these assumptions are not merely baseless, but almost impossible, as *miser*, which Stolz[1] mentions with one or two others, while in the *Grundriss*[2] they are passed over in silence. But a glance at the list of such words given on p. 74 below will shew that they are too numerous to be neglected.

Umbrian.

In Umbrian again Bréal notices *asa* as the only exception to rhotacism between two vowels; Brugmann[3] following him, treats it either as a borrowing from another dialect or as a 'graphische Altertümlichkeit,' while even Bücheler's[4] encyclopaedic observation has only detected three other exceptions, the termination *-asius*, and the pronouns *eso-* and *pis-i*. In reality, besides these examples, excluding words in which there is any reason to suppose the loss of a consonant before the *s* or an original *ss*, there are over a score of words in the Iguvine Tables which shew *s* between vowels, and several well-known names of places in Umbria itself, one of which, *Pisaurum*, is noticed by Roby, Vol. I. p. 60. In Oscan again when it is written in Latin characters as in the *Tabula Bantina*,

[1] *Lat. Gram.* § 60. 4.
[2] § 569 Anm. 3.
[3] *ibid.*
[4] *Umbrica*, p. 184.

z is used not merely to denote the sound of the Oscan Ⅰ, i.e. *ts*, but as a variant of *s* between vowels—presumably to denote a voiced *s*. *s* also occurs between vowels on the same inscriptions, and so far as I know no one has suggested any reason for the variation except the carelessness of the (much-enduring) stone-mason. With regard to the changes in Aryan and Romance, reasons for doubting the explanations hitherto suggested are given at the end of this essay. Finally the history of medial *s* before nasals in Latin can hardly be considered settled[1].

5. The conclusions I shall endeavour to justify are as follows:

Results of the Essay.

A. Medial s between vowels

1. Following an unaccented syllable

α. became voiced (z) in (i) pro-ethnic[2] Italic, as in *régezent, *foídezos,

and (ii) in Latin after the first change of accent, as in *suezőrem;

β. i. and further became r in Latin Umbrian and other rhotacising dialects, as in Umbr. bénurent, túderor, Lat. régerent, soróris,

ii. while it was kept in Oscan and other non-rhotacising dialects, as in Osc. ángetuzet, égmazum.

2. Following an accented syllable

α. was kept in all dialects, as in Umbr. ősе ('anno'), Osc. eísuc-en, Aésernim, Lat. násus, míser, quaéso;

β. except in Latin and Faliscan where it became r even when following an accented syllable, if it was (i) followed by i or u,

[1] Stolz, *L. G.* § 60. 2. Br. *Grds.* § 570.

[2] A term of this sort is so much wanted that little apology need be made for its use.

and (ii) preceded by i or u or a long vowel or diphthong, as in náris, quaérit, Fúrius, núrus (gen. núrūs), dírimit.

There is scarcely enough evidence to determine whether this qualification extended to Umbrian and the other rhotacising dialects.

B. Medial s before nasals

1. which was kept in Oscan and Umbrian (Br. *Grds.* § 570),
2. in Latin,

   a. when following an unaccented syllable was lost without compensation (Br. *l.c.*), as in *Caména,*

   β. when following an accented syllable

   i. arising before and (?) after the period of rhotacism, was lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in ahénus, prímus, dúmus (?),

   ii. arising during the period of rhotacism became r, as in cármen, vérna, diúrnus.

I may add here two corollaries as to the date of the change of the Latin accent, which, if correct, are a good deal more important than the mere explanation of the changes of *s*. They are discussed pp. 64—68 *infr.*

The Latin accent.

1. **The Latin accent had become bound by quantity, i.e. it could not go further back than a long penult or antepenult, before rhotacism began, that is before 450 B.C.** (*v.p.* 61 *infr.*).
2. **But it did not become bound by the number of syllables, i.e. restricted to the last three even when the penult and antepenult were both short, until after rhotacism had ceased, that is after 350 B.C.**

There is further independent evidence as well as that of rhotacism that proper names did not yield to these changes till considerably later than the rest of the language.

I. *The Phonetic relation of* s *and* r; *and the history of* s *before consonants in Latin.*

6. Before proceeding to discuss the history of *s* in Italic it is necessary to say a word or two on the phonetic aspect of its change to *r*, which seems to have been unduly neglected. It is usually stated, clearly as a generalisation from the (apparent) historical evidence in various languages, that *s* (the breathed dental sibilant) becomes *r* through the intermediate stage of *z* (the voiced sibilant), and it is often implied that the change happens only and always by this method. Even Brugmann appears to assume this in discussing the Teutonic rhotacism[1]. But phonetically there is surely no more reason why the voiced *z* should pass to the voiced *r* than the breathed *s* to the breathed *r* (*rh*). It may be said that the breathed *r* did not exist in the particular languages in which *s* became *r*; whether this could be proved or not, it is scarcely an answer to the difficulty. We are still left to ask why it did not, if *s* would naturally have given rise to it under the same conditions as those under which *z* became the voiced *r*. The following quotations give us sufficient data to explain the change, and they say nothing whatever of *z* as a necessary intermediate stage.

Quotations from Phonetists. (i) *s.*

(i) '*S* owes its sibilance to the breath being directed on to the teeth not by the tip itself but by the blade of the tongue....The normal position for *s* is on the gums a little further back than for *th*, the tongue being somewhat shortened.' Sweet, *Handbook of Phonetics*, p. 39.

[1] *Grds.* § 581.

(ii) *r*.

(ii) 'The characteristic feature of *r* is that the friction passage is formed as much as possible by the tip alone. Hence the tip generally points upwards, and there is a tendency to make the outer front of the tongue concave, so as to prevent any front modification. The tongue being thus shortened, there is also a tendency to form the consonant further back than is the case with the other point consonants. The medium position for *r* is just outside the arch and it cannot be formed at all in the interdental position.' *Ib.* p. 37.

(iii) '*sh*'.

(iii) '*sh* is very similar to *s* but has more of the point element which is the result of its approximation to *rh*, *sh* is in fact *s* arrested on its way to *rh* [and similarly the voiced *zh* is *z* arrested on its way to *r*]. This is done by retracting the tongue somewhat from the *s* position and pointing it more upwards, which brings the tip more into play....The normal position for *sh* is naturally between that of *s* and *rh*, near the arch.' *Ib.* p. 40.

The change of s > sh *under influence of* y.

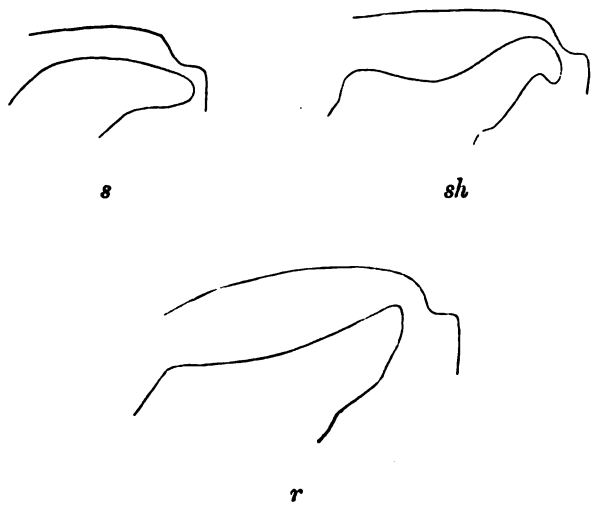
(iv) 'The above account of the mechanism of *s* and *sh*...is transposed'...by some phoneticians, 'chiefly on the ground of the frequent development of *sh* in language out of *s* followed by *y*. But the point of the tongue is clearly directed upwards in the change from *s* to *sh*. Theories of the historical development of sounds cannot be allowed to override facts that can be demonstrated by observation, and the change of *s* into *sh* under the influence of *y* may be easily explained as the result of simple retraction of the *s* towards the *y* position.' *Ib. note*, pp. 40, 41.

Change of s *to* r.

(v) 'The position of *s* giving sibilation to vocalised breath produces *z* which differs in no wise from the oral action of *s*.'

'*r* as pronounced in England differs from *z* merely in the narrowing and retraction of the point of the tongue. In Scotland, in Spain, and on the continent generally, *r* receives a stronger vibration of the whole forepart of the tongue.' M. Bell, *Principles of Speech*, pp. 53, 54 (quoted by Roby, Vol. I. p. 401).

The following rough lines then may be taken as indicating the three positions of the tongue under the palatal arch.



Phonetic conditions of the change.

7. It is clear therefore that the change from *s* to *r*, whether both are breathed or both are voiced, is that of a continuous retraction elevation and pointing of the tip and fore-part of the tongue, and that *z* is no nearer *r* than *s* is to *rh*[1]. What then would be likely to cause this movement? Either (1) *a mere carelessness of articulation* by which the tongue was allowed to slip back slightly from the more or less protruded *s* position, and at the same time the hinder half allowed to fall slightly so that the front became relatively raised, or (2) *the proximity of any sound which required a more backward position of the tongue* than that for *s*, and hence a modification of the *s* either in consequence of or in preparation

[1] In passing it is as well to note that the peculiar 'narrowing' of the English *z* by which the tongue is gathered together more closely towards its centre is (i) not found in the continental *z* as in Fr. *rose*, and (ii) does not affect the general issue one way or the other. Its only effect is to make the hiss or the vibration rather stronger, especially as (iii) it does not appear to have any essential connexion with the voiced sound rather than the breathed.

for the pronunciation of such a sound. These two purely *a priori* phonetic conditions correspond very well to what we find actually happening.

Historical conditions of the change. a. Loss of accent.

8. The first happens (*a*) when *s* sinks to *r* in consequence of loss of a stress-accent. The syllable containing it is no longer articulated with so much care and distinctness; it is more open to corruption both from its oral and acoustic character than if it were felt by speakers and hearers to be the most important syllable in the word. Consequently *if there is any tendency in the language* to draw back the *s* position to the *r* position, it will have free play. Or again if there is no such tendency, but the *s* happens to be in a position where a voiced sound would be easier to produce, it sinks forthwith to *z*, so to speak *nemine contradicente*. So that the same cause produces or rather allows the change of *s* to *z* and the changes of *s* to *rh*, *z* to *r*, but the former is not by any means the necessary intermediate stage: *s* may sink to *rh* in consequence of a rhotacising tendency, and then *rh* may become a voiced *r* in consequence of vocal surroundings; this is quite as simple as to suppose the order $s > z > r$, which however in Teutonic at least appears to have been the historical course of the change. In the languages we are dealing with, namely the Italic, *r* and *rh* cannot (with any certainty at least) be distinguished, so that we do not always know which of them was the final stage in the progress[1]. But in Sanskrit we can distinguish them since the breathed *r* under certain conditions experienced a further weakening to *h*, and this arises from an original *s* quite as regularly as does the voiced *r*[2].

[1] Final rhotacism would seem to be a special case due to loss of accent. In Umbrian the frequent omission of the *r* in this position would seem to indicate that, as in Sanskrit, under certain conditions (which the confused state of the transmission on this point has greatly obscured) it was the breathed sound (v. App. C). In the earliest period of Elean rhotacism (Cauer.[2] 253, 258) it has been noticed that ρ appears only before μ and *F*, *s* remaining before vowels, breathed consonants and a pause.

[2] Cf. App. B, and the following section.

9. Again the same careless articulation may be caused (β) by the adjacency of some other sound which absorbs the greater part of the emphasis of the syllable, as for example a long vowel or diphthong before the *s*, or which (γ) necessarily curtails the full *s*-articulation. A clear example of the first is the history of the Latin (original) *ss* after a long vowel which has become voiced between vowels in many of the Romance languages, e.g. Ital. *fuso*, Fr. *fusible* from Lat. *fūssus*[1] (contrast It. *misso* from *missus*, *presso*, Fr. *empressement* from *pressus*) where the sibilant has yielded to the tendency to vocalise sounds occurring between vowels because there was not enough of the stress-accent on the syllable left to prevent it, after the enunciation of the *ū*. So in Latin, as we shall see later on, *s* after an accented syllable yields to the influence of a following *i* or *u* under the same circumstances.

β. Adjacent sounds which absorb emphasis,

The second cause of the weakened articulation, its curtailment by an adjacent sound, varies considerably in its effect in different languages. In most, I think, of the Indo-European group the medial combinations *sk*, *st*, *sp* are among the most stable at least so far as regards the preservation of the *s* or some equivalent sound (e.g. Skt. *st*(h), *sp*(h), but *cch*) and where the *s* is kept here but lost in other consonantal combinations it must be due to the fact that the breathed character of the *k*, *t*, *p* favours the normal prolongation of the breathed sibilant. But before other consonants while in pro-ethnic Teutonic *s* or *z* was kept equally before all except *l* so long as it followed an accented syllable[2], in other languages, at least in modern English it appears to be fully kept only before explosives and spirants, (*descry* and *disgust*, *Desdemona* and *destiny*, *Lisbon* and *lisping*, *asphodel* and *isthmus*, seem to shew exactly the same length of the sibilant in pronunciation[3])

γ. or curtail the articulation of s.

Teutonic.

Modern English.

[1] For evidence in favour of these statements, explanation of exceptions, etc. v. Appendix A and Osthoff *Perf. Exc.* VI.

[2] Br. *Grds.* § 582.

[3] If there is any difference the *s* seems to be longer before *c*, *t*, *p* than before *g*, *d*, *b*.

and half lost before nasals (contrast *pris'ner, bus'ness, prismatic* with any of the words just given). I think it will be felt that these (*pris'ner*, etc.) are a good deal nearer the sound in *skinner, brimming* than *lisping* is to *skipping, buzzed* to *budding*. We may conjecture that the sibilant in these positions would have been completely lost by this time if it were not being constantly restored by the influence of the written language.

Latin and Sanskrit.

In Latin and Sanskrit however, the hiss appears to be abridged before all consonants except breathed explosives and spirants. Contrast Skt. *nīḍas* and Lat. *nīdus* with Eng. *nest:* Lat. *pōno* (for *posno*), Skt. *nalō nāma* with Goth. *asneis*, A. S. *esne*[1].

The difference is clearly connected with the method of dividing the syllables prevailing in the language[2]. The German habit (attested by the terms 'open' and 'close') of beginning every syllable with a consonant and therefore dividing *as-neis* contrasts with the prospective assimilation usual in Latin.

3. Assimilating influence of neighbouring sounds.

10. The second cause suggested above (§ 7) for the retraction of the tongue which changes *s* to *sh* and further to *r* (*h*), *z* to *zh* and *r*, is the proximity of some sound which required a more backward position of the tongue. Instances abound. But before discussing any of them an important distinction must be cited, namely that between Prospective and Retrospective Assimilation. In some, perhaps most, languages the former predominates, in others, e.g. Sanskrit[3] the latter. And according to this we shall expect to find the 'alterant' sounds after or before the *s* in any one language. Thus in Sanskrit we find the change determined by the preceding sound[4]: in Latin on the contrary we shall expect to find it determined by those that follow. The class of sounds that exert this backward influence are obvious both phonetically and historically. The Sanskrit

[1] Given by Br. *Grds.* § 582.

[2] So Osthoff *Perf.*, p. 19.

[3] e.g. the past participles in *dha*, the change of *n* to *ṇ*, etc.

[4] For my present purpose it is enough to point out that Brugmann agrees with Whitney and other Sanskritists that the change from *s*>*r* is only regular after *i* and *u*. v. App. B.

guttural *k* and cerebral ('inverted') *r* convert the dental to the cerebral sibilant, *s* to *ṣ*. **So do the two high vowels i and u, which necessitate the raising of the main body of the tongue towards the front and back of the palate respectively and consequently a slight withdrawal of its tip from the extended s position.** Anyone who will take the trouble to pronounce *ū-s̄-ū* or *ī-s̄-ī*[1] continuously but prolonging each sound so as to be conscious of the change of position to produce the next, will feel that his tongue is pushed forward to pronounce the *s* and pulled back again for the *i* or *u*. Further if the change towards the *u* or *i* position is begun before the hiss is stopped by removing the blade of the tongue from the gums, the *s* passes into *sh*, and *if the backward movement is continued till the tongue reaches the* i *or* u *position without the complete removal of the tip we get* r (h). Under certain further conditions the *s* in Sanskrit further passes to *r*. In Latin a following *i* or *u* appears only to exercise this influence when either an *i* or *u* precedes the *s* so that the blade of the tongue is already in the position to which it will have to return after having formed the *s*, or the articulation of the *s* itself is weakened, as we have just seen, by a preceding long vowel or diphthong.

NOTE.

With much diffidence I venture to suggest that the influence of *i* and *u* (the former sometimes disguised in *ě*) is the true phonetic cause of the variations which Brugmann finds so difficult in the change of *s* to *ch* between vowels in Old Church Slavonic, so that *nōsu* ('nose'), *rōsa* (=Lat. *rōs*) would be as regular as the Latin *nāsus* and *rŏsa*. A large number of the cases of the changes of *s* to *ch* Brugmann already is forced to explain by analogical influence, and it is not hard to account in this way for all the examples he gives not following an (original Slavonic) *i* or *u*. Cf. especially *těchŭ*=Skt. *tēṣu*, Gr. *τοῖς*, *tûsě*=Skt. *tāsām*, Gr. *τά-ων*. This would also explain the initial change of *s* to *ch* in some words, as due to the final *u* of the nominative and other cases, and the *i* of still other cases, of the article *tu* (*to-mĭ*, *tomu*, *těmi*, *ti*, *ty*, *těchŭ*, *těmu*, *těmi*), and of many cases of definite adjectives like *novui*. *v. Grundriss*, § 585. 2, Anm. 2, 4, 5, 6, 588. 2, Anm. 2, 3, 4. It is especially to be noticed that *k* and *r* convert *s* to *ch* =Eng. *sh* (§ 588. 1) just as in Sanskrit.

[1] By *ū* and *ī* are meant the genuine sounds of these vowels, which in Modern English we should write *oo ee*.

B. *Changes of* s *before nasals in Italic.*

11. This is the most convenient place to add what little there is to be said as to the changes of *s* before consonants, especially before nasals, in Italic. In Oscan and Umbrian it is clearly retained before the latter, Osc. *posmom*, etc., Umbr. *ahesnes*, etc. In Latin the rule appears to be that given above, § 5 B, namely that during the period of rhotacism *s* following an accented syllable and preceding *m* or *n* became *r*, a change strictly parallel to its loss in the same circumstances in a non-rhotacising period, as has been pointed out already. The one difficulty of course is, How did the words with *s* in this position arise in the rhotacising period, if all those containing it had already lost it? The answer is, by borrowing from another dialect. The legitimacy of this assumption in general will be more conveniently discussed[1] when we are dealing specifically with the Latin changes; here it is enough to point out that the very small though, as I think, fairly certain number of examples that come under consideration on this point, speaks strongly for their being borrowed. And in the most important of them, *carmen* 'a verse,' despite the recent suggestion that the *r* is original, so that it would be the same word as *carmen* 'a wool-comb'; the very fact of its juxtaposition with another word of diametrically opposite meaning[2] (*active* instead of *passive*) seems to indicate that it was certainly not coined by the same people. The advantage of discussing them here is that they shew clearly that the change of *s* to *r* can take place independently of any vocalising influence. *n* and *m* in Latin were certainly more breathed than voiced sounds (e.g. *sumpsi* and the Ital. *difeso* with breathed *s* from *ns*). The following seem to be examples of the change to *r* before *n* and *m*.

Origin of the the words under discussion.

[1] v. infr. §§ 43-4, p. 59 foll.

[2] Baehrens points out that the meaning 'division' is as old as the meaning 'metrical stanza.' Without further entering on the discussion, it may be observed that the words shewing CAS (*castrare*, etc., Skt. *ças-tram*) shew the former meaning quite as well as those with CAR (Osc. *carneis* 'partis').

	carmen	*diurnus*	*Privernum?*	*urna?*
Examples.	*germen?*	*hornus*	*vernus?*	*ager Falernus?*
		verna	*veternus?*	*hodiernus?*

Carmen has been already discussed. *Germen* may of course simply have been formed from *gero* after the rhotacism. For *diurnus* no word has survived which could supply the same sort of analogy as *veteris* may have for *veternus*, though in this last instance too the close proximity of meaning of the two words suggests that the second may have been a borrowing. *Hornus* is surely much better derived with Bücheler from the common Italic word **ōs ōsis* 'a year' (Umbr. *ose, ustite*, Pelign. *uus*, T. B. 4. *osii*), originally *ho-os-nus*, than from *ver veris*, for **ho-vernus*, because if even this derivation is to account for the *r* it must have been first formed after the rhotacism had begun, and therefore (v. infr. § 47, p. 65) after the first change of the Latin accent so that it would have been pronounced **hovérnus*, and it is surely improbable that the contraction should have taken place in a word thus accented. It would stand on the same level of improbability with '*dixti* from *dixisti*, *dixet* from *dixisset*.' Further it seems more probable that the pronominal *ho-* should have been in use at the earlier than the later stage of the language. Lastly the meaning is more naturally 'this year's' than 'this spring's' especially as applied to wine. If then Bücheler's derivation be correct, the word is most probably borrowed since the word *os* appears to occur nowhere else in Latin, so that all the external evidence points in the same direction as that derived from the form of the word. For *verna* no other likely derivation has been suggested as far as I know except the one given by Stolz[1] connecting it with *VES* 'to dwell' (*vesta*, Skt. *vas*) which is rendered very probable by the parallel of *famulus*, Osc. *famel* and Osc. *faamat* (Zv. S. I. O. 14. 1) 'dwells'[2].

The remaining examples are less certain. *Privernum* a

[1] *Lat. Gr.* § 60. 2.

[2] The name *Verna* (quoted in Mommsen's *Sabine Glossary*, U. I. D. from Fest, p. 370) applied to the Romans in the Liturgy of the Capitoline Sabines, if it is connected with this word which seems doubtful, must have been Latinised in the same way as *Minerva* in Pelign. Zv. I. I. M. 33.

town in Volscian[1] territory may well contain an *s*-stem whether or not it is connected with *ver* (**ves-r*). *vernus* may simply be for **ves-nus* and if so would have helped the substitution of *vēris* for **vesris*. *Urna* Varro connects with *urceus* but Vaniček may be right in tracing it rather to *ūro ustum*, but of course even so it may equally well have been formed after the rhotacism. If *Falernus* (in Campania) is connected with the name which occurs in two other places in Italy, *Falerii* in S. Etruria and *Falerio* in Umbria, the *r* is derived from *s* (*Falisci*) and must be regarded as the form of the name given to the district by the Campanians when adopted by Volscian or Latin colonists. *Hodiernus* is a doubtful word altogether, but may belong here.

s lost.

12. We have now to consider the examples of (1) the genuine Latin words which regularly dropped *s* before *n* and *m*, and (2) (?) the borrowed words which may have done so after the period of rhotacism. They are well known already and need only be discussed in view of the question which of them belong to the latter category.

(1) *pono ahenus* (Umbr. *ahesnes*) *deguno* are clearly old words. Perhaps *dimico* may rank with them, but very little can be inferred from the changes of such prefixes as *dis-* which are especially liable to analogical influence.

(2) *viden' satin' cet.* seem clearly modern. So may be *cānus* (Pelign. *casnar*). We have then one or two words in Festus, *casmena caesna* (Varro) *cosmittere* (?) *dusmus*, which may perfectly well be dialectic forms in use among the soldiery (*caesna* of course would not be the Umbrian form but it might be Oscan) or may have been completely introduced into Latin from the same source. *Triresmus* for *triretsmus*, *pesna petna* for *petsna* naturally are irrelevant. The most important word is *cosmis* on the Duenos Inscription. This is later than the change of *s* to *r* as all the eight commentators agree in taking *pacari* as an infinitive[2], and Pauli assigns it at the latest to the middle of the 5th century A.U.C., i.e. 300 B.C. The same commentator says the Latin of the inscription is 'so rein dass es

[1] For the question of Volscian rhotacism, v. infr. § 37, p. 50.

[2] *Toitesia* seems certainly a wrong reading, v. Pauli ad loc., *Alt. Ital. Stud.* I.

geradezu mustergültig ist,' and takes *cosmis* = Lat. *comis* as do Bücheler, Jordan, Osthoff, and Ring. (Dressel *comes*, Bréal joins *cosmisu.*) But Jordan sees in the *s* a dialectic variation which he traces also in *noisi* (= *nisi*) and *einom;* the former is allowed as possible by all commentators except Bréal and Pauli who however seems right in explaining *nois vois* as old forms for *nobis vobis* (on the strength of a gloss of Festus, *nis* = *nobis*). But all other commentators take *einom* as equivalent to the Oscan form *einom* for which Pauli would substitute '*ei nom*' = *i nunc.* This seems hardly so likely. But in any case it is quite clear that *cosmis* must be of Oscan or Umbrian origin whether it had or had not been fully adopted into Latin at the time of the inscription. *Dismota* occurs in the *S. C. de Baccanalibus* but it may be only an etymological spelling.

s before voiced explosives.

It is possible that the same chronological relation holds between *nidus didere cet.* and *Ardea ardeo* (the latter is generally considered a secondary derivative of *aridus*) and *digero* and *mergus.* Osthoff (*Perf.* p. 35) leaves it as an altogether doubtful question why the *r* appears in *mergus* and not in *sīdo.* In such a common word it must be confessed that the 'borrowing' hypothesis seems very harsh, and the solution of the difficulty may well be that the *z* was kept in old Latin before gutturals, though lost with compensation before dentals to which it would be more easily assimilated. Cf. Skt. *majjati* but *sēdus.*

Order of the following sections.

13. We may now proceed to the main subject of the essay, the history of *s* between vowels in the various dialects of Italy. These are best arranged in the order of least complexity, beginning with Umbrian and concluding with Latin and Faliscan. That is to say, we shall deal first with the rhotacising and then with the non-rhotacising dialects, except that the Latin phenomena are postponed to the end on account of their comparative complexity. The results of the enquiry on the question of dialect-distribution are given in a table at the end of the section on 'Minor Dialects' (infr. § 39, p. 53) and have been further illustrated by a map of Italy which I owe to the great kindness and ability of my friend Mr E. Heawood of Gonville and Caius College.

II. S *between vowels in Umbrian.*

Accent in Oscan and Umbrian.

14. The question that meets us at the threshold of our enquiry, What was the system of accentuation that prevailed in the Italic dialects? has a very ready answer. Happily there is little to be said on the point, but that little may fairly be regarded as certain.

In § 683 of the *Grundriss* Brugmann decides in favour of the view that the original Italic accent on the first syllable of all independent words was still retained in the separate historical development of Oscan and Umbrian. This conclusion he bases on the "weitverbreitete Vocalausstossung in den Schlusssilben wie in umbr. *pihaz* = 'piatus,' osk. *tůvtĭks* 'publicus.'" There seems no reason for doubting his decision, and further evidence of the same sort could be collected with the greatest ease from almost every page of the Inscriptions, e.g. the suppression of a short vowel in the second syllable as in Osc. *ůůpsens* from the stem *opes-*. The conclusions as to rhotacism based on this view, if they are correct, will supply an important proof of a different kind. But the modern forms of geographical names are decisive in its favour, e.g. *Pésaro* (*Písaurum*), *Fálleri* (*Fálerii*), etc.

Chronology of the Tabulae Iguvinae.

15. It is necessary to preface the discussion of the Umbrian forms with a very brief statement of what has been and may be inferred as to the relative date of the seven Iguvine tables from their general appearance and contents.

Bréal (*Les Tables Engubines*, p. 308) speaks as follows: 'Je classerais quant à la copie...les tables de cette façon. Les plus anciennes me paraissent être III et IV....Puis viendrait II b. L'inscription IIa a été selon toute apparence gravée après

II b, car le graveur a serré son écriture pour faire tenir toute la texte sur une seule côté de la table. Cette inscription II a est contemporaine de I: toutes deux sont terminées exactement par la même formule, émanant de la même autorité. La première partie de V, dont les desinences grammaticales appartiennent à un état de la langue plus récent, est probablement parmi les inscriptions en caractères étrusques celle qui a été gravée en dernier. Enfin VI, VII et l'inscription *Claverniur* peuvent être considérées comme ayant été copiées à une epoque où les caractères étrusques commençaient de sortir de l'usage.' The evidence on the question generally may then be briefly summarised as follows:

Table I is clearly a copy, abridged from a more ancient inscription, at a time when final *s* had become *r*. The engraver has made one slip into the modern spelling, *adiper arves* (l. 28).

II a was copied at the same time as I and contains two quite distinct parts though they were engraved at the same time.

Of II b Bréal leaves us uncertain whether he considers it a copy or an original. The spelling seems consistent throughout so that there is not the same reason for thinking it a copy as there is in the case of

III and IV, where inconsistencies such as *Pupḍike Pupḍiçe, Ikuvina Iiuvina* can scarcely be otherwise explained.

V a (i.e. the part in the Etruscan alphabet) 'may be contemporary with one of its two decrees which were not made at the same date.' The second of them however in point of date, whichever it is, need not necessarily be a *copy* any more than the other. There is nothing to shew that either of them is not a first-hand record of the decree it contains. They shew the same stage of phonetic development as is represented by the copyist of VI, VII. Hence it follows, since the *Claverniur* inscription, V b, is copied in Latin characters from more ancient documents in Etruscan on to the back of V a, that the originals of V b, VI, VII were older than V a.

VI and VII, though clearly copies (e.g. as being in Latin characters but describing the same system of ritual as that in I) may nevertheless be fairly appealed to as evidence of the

later stage of the language, because in process of copying the text appears to have been modernised with very fair consistency. For example *surur* is substituted in VI and VII for the *isont* of I, II cet. (Unfortunately there is no place where the word is wanted in V a.) Now as to this there are only two possible hypotheses:

1. that it occurred in the original (whether this was an inscription or a manuscript, i.e. the decree confirming the ritual re-enacted later) which must have been therefore a good deal later (e.g. as shewing final rhotacism) than the date of Tabb. I—IV, or

2. more probably that VI, VII are copies of ancient documents modernised in language as well as in alphabet, and modernised so far as to substitute new for archaic words. This second supposition is rendered probable by the relation already described between VI, VII and I.

These brief notes will enable us to determine more precisely the bearing of the Umbrian evidence.

Summary of the evidence in Umbrian.

16. In this and the following chapters then we are to examine the evidence for and against the theory 'that *s* between vowels remains in all Italic dialects (except Latin) at the end of the accented, i.e. the first, syllable of the word, but that elsewhere (1) in Umbrian and other rhotacising dialects it became *r*, while (2) in Oscan and other non-rhotacising dialects it merely sank to the voiced sound, *z*.' There follow lists of all words in Umbrian—

1. with an originally single *s* between vowels at the end of the first syllable (*at least twenty-eight examples*);

2. with *s* (probably) representing *ss* or *consonant* + *s* between vowels at the end of the first syllable and elsewhere;

3. with *s* between vowels not after the first syllable, of doubtful origin (*one example*);

4. with *r* representing an original *s* between vowels not after the first syllable (*seven examples*);

5. with *r* between vowels after the first syllable (*seven examples of* r *derived from* s).

It will be seen that the lists nos. 1 and 4 will contain the evidence in favour of my theory, nos. 3 and 5 the (apparent) evidence against it. No. 2 is added for convenience. Where any words require more than a bare mention, they are discussed at the end of the list in which they first occur. The references cite the Table and line (on the original) of the passage quoted, in the usual way.

17. The following words in Umbrian shew *s* between vowels at the end of the first syllable. None are included in which *s* occurs also as *ç* or *ś*, as for example *tasez* = *taçez*, or those in which it is the initial letter of the second half of a compound as in *proseśetu*. This list alone is surely enough to suggest the inadequacy of the treatment which the question has so far received (cf. § 4 supr.).

ása ásē ásam cet. passim *áso* VI b. 50 *ásiane* I a. 26 *éso- ísunt ésum-ek* passim, also *ésuf* 'ipse' *ésunu ésone* passim, once *eésona* VI a. 18 *nésimei* V a. 9 (?)	*písest* VI b. 53 *písher* VI b. 41 *písi* V a. 3, VI a. 7 *rúsem-e* VII a. 9, 24 *séso* VI b. 51 *svíseve* II b. 13 *svésu* I b. 46, VII b. 1 *óse* VI a. 26 *úsaie* I b. 46 (cf. *ustite* II a. 16) *vásus* IV 22	*Words in Umbrian with* s *between vowels at end of first syllable.*
pesetom ? freq. in VI (e.g. a. 27)	*ooserclom* ? VI a. 13 *vasirślom* ? VI a. 12	*Doubtful.*
Físo Físiu cet. passim *Físuvi Físovie Físuvina* passim *Koísis* I. U. M.[1] 5 *Vésune* IV 3, cf. *Vesinicates*	*Voísinier* I. U. M. 1 *Káselate* II b. 6, V b. 13 *Múseiate* II b. 5 *Tésenaces* I a. 10 *Tésenocir* VI a. 20	*Proper names in Inscriptions.*
Caesena Cic. ad Fam. 16. 27 *Pisaurum* *R. Misus* (m.d. *Misa*) *R. Aesis* Livy 5. 35 ? *Suása* (mentioned by Pliny) *Rusellae* (Etruria)	Modern. *R. Pisatello* *R. Plusa* *R. Uso*	*Names of places in Umbria from North to South.*

[1] i.e. *Inscriptiones Umbricae Minores*, given by Bücheler at the end of his edition of the Tables.

18. Some of these words call for further comment.

āsa. Brugmann's two suggested explanations are surely both impossible. It cannot be 'an archaism' because it occurs in the later as often as in the earliest tables while, as has been pointed out (§ 15), archaisms are generally modernised in VI and VII. And it is equally impossible that it can be a borrowing from another dialect in view of its constant use in the cultus of the ancient Umbrian confederacy. There is no trace of any other word which it might have displaced from its signification; and all historical considerations protest against the supposition that any Italic tribe should have needed to borrow a word to describe the central feature of their domestic and civil institutions. The difficulty of the Latin word *ara* may as well be mentioned here. The *r* seems clearly due to the influence of *arére* and its derivatives *aridus ardeo.* The connexion of the words is obvious; cf. Volscian *bim asif = bovem arens* '*bovem in ara sacrificans*[1],' and the fact that this was popularly felt is, curiously enough, attested by Varro[2]. '*ara* ab area sive ab *ardore ad quem ut sit, fit ara.*'

āso VI b. 50. '*erihont aso destre onse fertu*' which Bücheler renders '*idem arsum in dextro umero ferto*' (p. 89) taking *aso* (for *asom*) as meaning 'to be burnt' and therefore as a supine of the verb *ās-* (quoted above from Volsc.) for *assum,* but I know of no justification for supposing a supine in *-ssum* from a root ending in *s.* The form would have been *astum* like *ustum gestum aseriatum* and all the rest. We must therefore fall back on Bücheler's alternative suggestion both here and in the Marrucinian inscription (Zv. I. M. 6) and take *asum* (*feret*) as an infinitive of purpose, which is perfectly consistent with its accusative form after a verb of motion, the form being parallel to *aferum façiom* Osc. *ezum,* etc., and therefore containing only the *s* of the root. The

[1] So Bücheler, and this is clearly the best interp., v. Zv. ad loc. I. I. M. D.
[2] L. L. 5. 38.

Latin *assum* with *ss* cannot belong to a root with a long vowel. Osth. *Perf.* p. 545.

asiane I a. 26. Büch. p. 73 'dictum ab *aso* videtur ustrinum.'

eso- isunt cet. The discussion of these pronominal forms (with the variants *issoc* VII b. 3 *essu* VI a. 44 *ehesu* VII b. 54) will be found infr. § 26, p. 32 *seq.* along with those in *r*, *ere erek cet.*

esunu esone 'sacred' or as a noun 'sacrum,' spelt once *eesona* VI a. 18 which might be regarded as an attempt to express the accent on the syllable though it may indicate genuine length of the vowel. The word has only a single *s* in all the Tables: cf. further Volsc. *esaristrom*, Marsian (Zv. 37) *esos*, Marrucin. (Zv. 6) *aisos*, Osc. *aisusis*, though these in themselves would not be conclusive as in at least the Volscian and Marrucinian inscriptions double letters were not used.

nesimei 'next.' For the (probably complete) loss of the original guttural (?) (Eng. nigh) cf. Lat. *maior* Osc. *maimās* = Lat. *maxim-ae*. If its sound had been really felt it would, one would think, have remained as *x* (*fratre*x).

pisest VI b. 53.
pisher VI b. 41.
pisi V a 3, VI a 7.

These cannot be regarded as examples of 'recomposition' of a final *s* because final *s* had become *r* at the date at which these forms occur, v. supr. § 15, p. 18, cf. infr. § 25, p. 30.

rusem-e VII a. 9, 24. Büch. p. 106 wishes to translate 'in terram' but 'cum *rure* tamen *rusem* equidem componere non ausim,' with natural but in view of the other examples surely unnecessary hesitation. I need hardly point out the forced character of his alternative explanation 'let him pour a libation on to the thorn-bush.' The word would be very difficult to justify in point of formation or (cf. *sepse*) phonetics, even granting the appropriateness of the meaning suggested, which is at least not obvious.

seso VI b. 51 = 'sibi,' cf. the Lat. *sese*, the absence of *v* in the second syllable being probably at least in Italy proethnic, as perhaps also in

svesu = 'suo' I b. 46, VII b. 1.

sviseve II b. 13 Büch. p. 145 'in a basin'; its reduplicated form vouches for the singleness of the *s*.

ose VI a. 26 '*anni*,' *usàie* = '*annua*' I b. 46. Of the single *s* in this word there is no doubt. A nom. *uus* occurs in the Corfinian inscription and it is identical in origin with the name of the Etruscan sun-god *usil*, *Auselius aurum aurora cet.*

vāsus IV 22 (abl. plur.) corresponds exactly with the Latin *vasis* (abl. plur.) except in declension which shews it is not borrowed from the Latin. It is a consonantal stem and perhaps explains the Latin doublet *vas vasum*.

Doubtful s or ś.

pesetom with the meaning of 'peccatum' or 'vitiatum' occurs only in VI where in other words we often have *s* alternating with *ś* which Bücheler supposes the true spelling in this word. But we have always *s*, and it might be plausibly connected with *pessum pessimus cet.* with an original dental (ἔπεσον πίπτω). If so however there is nothing to shew that the *s* is not double.

ooserclom, v. infr. § 21.

vasirslom VI a. 12 Bücheler connects with *vacare*, 'an open space,' but at first sight it seems at least equally comparable with *vastus*. The *s* of the *-slom* is of course for *ś* from *-clom*.

Proper names.

19. The evidence from proper names may seem at first sight less reliable because we are less able to trace their cognates, but on the other hand, in this case, the form which they shew is in one respect more likely to be original, because they are unlikely to contain *ss* (which appears to be almost always of secondary origin) unless indeed they are obviously derived from some past participle.

Fiso Fisiu cet. have generally been regarded as forms of this kind, as the past participle of *fido* and corresponding in sense to *Juppiter Fidius.* But the difference in form is obvious. Are there other examples of deities whose only name was originally a past participle? Appellatives which are only used in addition to some other more substantive title are clearly distinct. We have *Fiisu..* in an Oscan inscription, which may be a borrowed name, but if not points to a single *s*, and *Fisanius* in another (Zv. O. 83) in a batch of inscriptions which regularly shew doubled letters. We have once *Fissiu* (VI a. 43) which may of course be the real spelling, though no stress can be laid upon its single occurrence in this form in VI and VII, cf. infr. § 27, p. 34 seq.

Fisuvi etc. are probably connected with *Fisus* as *Marruvium* with *Marsi.*

Vesune IV 3, Büch. p. 162 compares *Vesta.* This and the similar name *Vesullia* occur fairly often in Oscan inscriptions. It occurs also in Marsian (Zv. no. 39, cf. § 36, p. 49 infr.). Here the *s* is certainly single. Büch. (l. c.) calls attention to the *Vesinicates* an Umbrian tribe.

Kaselate II b. 6, V b. 13
Museiate II b. 5
Tesenaces (veres) I a. 10

All that is to be said about these names is that they appear to be certainly Umbrian. The last is the epithet of one of the gates of Iguvium, probably derived from a neighbouring place, and the other two are the names of tribes included in the ceremonial (II b. 5). The *Kaselates* are directed to provide so much corn for the officers of the league (V b. 13), and it is highly improbable that this was anything but a voluntary act on their part, nor would aliens be likely to join except under compulsion.

Names of places in Umbria.

Pisaurum. The modern form *Pesaro* has been already noticed, as evidence of the persistence of the old first-syllable accent.

R. Misus (mod. *Misa*). This is marked in Smith's Ancient Atlas but I have been unable to find any reference for it. De Vit's *Onomasticon* which I have used where possible has only reached IO.

Suasa I hardly count as it is so probably connected with Lat. *suasum*, cf. *Sentinum*, and therefore had originally *ss*.

Rusellae Bücheler cites (p. 106) as a name in Etruria clearly of Italic origin[1].

The modern names may reproduce real Umbrian forms. The dialectic form of the name of a place seems generally to be the one that has survived.

Did i *and* u *affect the change in Umbrian?*

20. A reference to the list of words on p. 21 will shew that *asiane pisi nesimei Koisis Voisinier* and *Aesis* are the only words which oppose the application to Umbrian of the further conditions under which *s* became *r* in Latin. No stress whatever can be laid on the *i* in the unaccented position of *pisi* and *nesimei; asiane* would be kept by *asom asa, Koisis* and *Voisinier* may be Sabine names (cf. Büch. ad loc.) and if *Aesis* is connected with *Aesernia* the *e* may possibly be nearer the original vowel. So that we have really no evidence on the question.

s from ss.

21. The following words appear to have *s* = *ss* between vowels:

ise I b. 8. *covortuso* VI b. 64.
sese III 2, 3, IV 3 *sesust* VI a. 6, 8. *benuso* VI b. 64.
frosetum VI a. 28.

ise covortuso benuso are future perfects like Lat. *turbassitur*,

[1] In complete ignorance of Etruscan I have not thought it worth while to add other such names though there are several with intervocal *s* after the first syllable, e.g. *Pisa*.

etc. the aorist conjunctive forms parallel to (the probably indicative forms) *amassem*, etc.[1]

sese sesust, participle and future of sigmatic perfect from *sedeo*.

frosetom from a past participle of the stem *fraud-*.

s from ps?

ooserclom VI a. 13 seems in point of meaning equally well derived from *au-serclom* (cf. *augurium*) but Bücheler supposes in this and in

osatu V b. 22 *oseto* I. U. M. 2 a loss of *p*, considering them the phonetic representatives of **obserclum* and **opseto*, comparing the Oscan *upsannam*, Pelignian *upsaseter*. But *sepse* VI b. 13 shews a *p* retained in a similar position and it is possible that *osatu* may not be connected with *op-*; cf. *frosetom* (? *audeo*, to set about a thing). If the derivation suggested for *ooserclom* be correct it is another example of the *s* kept by accent.

puse pusei pusi in VI and VII (for *puze* of Tables I—V) as in Oscan probably contains a dental or nasal.

s between vowels not after the first syllable.

22. There is only one exception to the rule that *s* between vowels not at the end of the first syllable became *r*, the termination *-āsius*, in the words

kurślasiu II a. 17
plenasier urnasier V a. 2, 15
sestentasiaru III 2 and
**eikvasia*, the origin of *eikvasates* III 24 and *eikvase(n)se* V a. 4, 16.

It is equally an exception to rule in Latin where it occurs only in proper names, which are generally regarded as introduced (mostly from Sabine sources) after the period of rhotacism had ceased. It is very common in Oscan, *fluusasiais verehasiui purasiai* (Zv. O. 9) *medikei degetasiui* (Cipp. Ab. no. 56) which Bücheler explains as 'numerarii.' Also perhaps in *diasis* (no. 74) the name of a measure of capacity, which Bücheler takes as 'bessis,' but the use of the *as* to denote

[1] So Thurneysen, *Bezz. Beitr.* 8. 274.

capacity seems doubtful and *-is* is the regular ending of masculine *-io-* stems in Oscan, so that it may well be simply derived from the numeral, like *triarius*, etc. It will be noticed that except *eikvasia* all the words in Umbrian denote *measurement* and these are just the class of words which we find most frequently borrowed. A strong confirmation of this view is the word *ezariaf* (Büch. 'escas') IV 28 not denoting measurement, which may very plausibly be regarded as shewing the genuine Umbrian form of the suffix, as in Latin. Stolz considers *-āsius* and *-ārius* as distinct in origin and *-ārius* may of course in some cases arise independently, but since in some, e.g. *nefāsius*, we know it did not, there seems no reason for denying the connexion so long as it can be phonetically justified, as in the way I have attempted. The fact that *ezariaf* occurs on the same document as *sestentasiaru* surely indicates that one of them is borrowed. Mommsen[1] calls it 'a Sabine ending.' Bréal[2], comparing the frequent Oscan endings of names, *-asia* (*Taurasia*) *-usium* (*Canusium*, *Venusia*), supposed the loss of an original *n* as in Lat. *formosus*, etc. This is possible but perhaps unnecessary. *Aequasius* and *Equasius* occur as gentile names on Roman inscriptions[3].

Apparent exceptions are *ander vacose* VI b. 47 (=*anter vacaze* in I b. 8) *ponisiater* VI b. 50 (cf. *puniçate* I b. 15) and the name of the R. *Aprusa* in Umbria, Plin. 3. 20, with which De Vit compares *Gens Aprusia*, also spelt *Aprucia*, which indicates that here also *s* was originally a guttural.

The names *Intercisa*, *Petra Pertusa* are clearly Roman and of course have original *ss*.

r between vowels representing original s not after the first syllable.

23. The examples of *r* between vowels not after the first syllable representing original *s* are as follows. It will be seen that they correspond exactly with *z* in Oscan (infr. § 29, p. 38).

1. Gen. plur. fem. *hapinaru* I a. 34 and generally.

[1] U. I. D. Sabine glossary, s. v. *Lebasius Vespasia*.

[2] Also Corssen, who derived them from *-ntia*.

[3] De Vit gives the reference 'Mommsen 6769' but this does not appear to denote any volume in the University Library.

2. In verbal forms:

staheren I b. 19	*furent* V a. 22 by 'Systemschwang'
benurent V a. 26	*procanurent* VI a. 15
prusikurent V a. 27	*ambrefurent* VI b. 56
pepurkurent V b. 5	*dersicurent* VI b. 63
eiscurent V b. 10	Perhaps *fefure* II a. 4.

3. Final *s* before a postposition (before the period of final rhotacism):

funtlere I b. 24	*ererek* III 32, etc.
tuvere II a. 33	*erarunt* IV 1, etc.
fesnere II b. 11.	

4. In *-es-* stems *tuderor* pass. in VI and VII *tuderato* VI a. 9 *Tutere* I. U. M. 7. Perhaps *kateramu* (*caterva*) I b. 20 and *atero* VII a. 11, 27.

The name *Cameria* in Umbria as well as *Camerinum* in Latium is probably to be connected with *Cameses* a mythical king of Italy mentioned with Janus in Macr. Sat. I. 7. 19. *Ameria* is doubtful. *Nuceria* (Osc. *Novkrinom*) has an original *r*.

24. I add for convenience all words in which *r* occurs between vowels at the end of the first syllable. Where they have any obvious cognate with original *r* it is added in a bracket. B. indicates that this is done with Bücheler's authority.

List of words with r between vowels after the first syllable.

berus berua passim (Lat. *veru* B., cf. '*venio*': '*benuso*').

(1) *erar, erahunt* pron. pass.
erietu II a. 6 (*arietem* B.).

(2) *ero(m)* gen. pl. pron. VI b. 62.

(3) *eru erom* V a. 27, VII b. 2 'esse.'
erus pass. 'quod dis datur peractis sacris' (Umbr. *herio* B.).

(4) *euront* VI b. 63 nom. pl. 'iidem.'
ferest, etc. pass. (Lat. *fero* B.).
ferime III 17 'gestatorium' (Lat. *fero* B.).
ferine pass. (Lat. *fero* B., Lat. *ferio* al.).

furu I b. 42 (Lat. *forum* B.).
heris heries cet. pass. (also in Osc. *herentas*, etc. B.).
karu V a. 25 (Osc. *karo* B.).
(5) *kuraia* V a. 5, *kuratu* V a. 25.
maronato I. U. M. 2 (Lat. *Maro, Mercurius Marunus* B.).
naratu naraklum pass. (Lat. *narrare* B.).
nerus VI b. 62 (Osc. *ner*, *ἀνὴρ* B.).
nirum II b. 16 (*νήριον* B.).
orer VI a. 37, *uru* I b. 14 pron. (Lat. *olle* B.).
per-acne II a. 10, *peretom* VI a. 27, alia (Lat. *per-* B.).
pure passim, 'igne,' and *vepuratu* II a. 42 (*πῦρ* B.).
(6) *pure* V a. 5, 25, nom. pl. rel. = *qui.*
pora VI b. 65, VII a. 1 = *quā* (= *po-ora* as Osc. *pollad* Cipp. Ab. 8 = *po-ollad, poizad* (Tab. Bant.) = *po-eizad*[1] B.).
seritu, etc. pass. (Lat. *servare* B.).
(7) *surur sururont* pass. in VI and VII.
turuf I b. 1 (Lat. *taurus* B.).
veiro VI a. 30 (Lat. *vir*, Osc. *vereiai* B.).
veres pass. (Lat. *fores* B.).
Kureties I b. 4, *Kureiate* II b. 3, *Coredier* VI b. 45 (Sab. *Kures*).
Ner I. U. M. 1 (*Nero* B.).
Peraznane II b. 7 (probably *per-*).
Varie I. U. M. 2 (Lat. *Varius* B.).
R. *Nar* in Umbria, the town *Narnia*, not *Nasnia.*

25. The only words in which *r* in this position represents an original *s* are those marked with numerals, namely *kuraia*, the two nominative plurals *euront* and *pure*, the genitive plural *erom*, and the pronoun *ere*, pronominal adverb *surur* and the infinitive *erom.* Except the first three which do not present any great difficulty, these are just such exceptions as best exemplify the rule. To deal with them in detail:—

kuraia only occurs in the latest of all the tables V a (cf. supr. § 15, p. 19), and it belongs to just the same

[1] Cf. Fr. *quelle.*

class of official words as *kuestretie uhtretie* (*kuestr- uhtr-*) *dequrier* all of which would be most naturally borrowed from Latin, as occurring most constantly in the official formulae of the Roman administration. It is extremely improbable that the process of narrowing which has been carried so far in the signification of *auctor*, *quaestor* should have gone on independently in two separate dialects, especially in the case of *quaestor* where the change of meaning connotes a series of constitutional changes in the republic.

euront nom. pl. masc. which only occurs in VI b. 63 side by side with *eam* (VI b. 16, 24) *eo* (= *eof* VI a. 20) *eaf* (VII a. 52) (cf. also *iepru* (II a. 32) *iepi* (III 21) *eu* II a. 2, II b. 9) is the only form in this case which occurs from any pronoun in the Tables except *puri pure* (V a. b) and *porse* (VI and VII). The masculine form corresponding to the neuter *eu* would clearly be **eus* which in the later stage of Umbrian would be *eur*. We might suppose that -(*h*)*ont* was simply added to this, but we have the forms *erarunt* in IV 1 before final rhotacism had begun (no example occurring in III, IV though final *s* is frequent) and *pisi* V a. 3, *pisher* VI b. 41 after it had set in, which shew that as a rule these affixes were regarded as inseparable. The *r* therefore may be merely due to the engraver under the influence of the uncompounded form **eur* as well as of **eruront* the nom. pl. properly corresponding to the ablative *eriront* VI b. 48. But we might regard it as an analogy form in real use with no great stretch of probability; it would be an example of 'recomposition,' and arbitrary, as such forms are, by the side of *pisi pisher*, though we have no such example of the simple *pis* surviving (except in the compound *sopir*) as we have of *eu eaf cet.*

pure V a. 25 similarly is either a mis-writing for **pu-rse* (as *arveitu* for **arsveitu*, *tertu* for **terstu*, *armor* for **arsmor*) and in 5 similarly mis-written for **pude*—a scarcely probable coincidence—or more easily an analogy form for

**pusi* under the influence of **pur* (Osc. *pus* Cipp. Ab. 8). Corresponding uncompounded forms we have in nom. sing. *poe poi* VI a. 5 etc. and they must be contained in the nom. plur. masc. *porse* VI a. 15 (for **por-ḍe* or **pos-ḍe*[1]). Some explanation by analogy of this sort is clearly required since it occurs in the same inscription (V a) as the form *pisi;* that the difference between these two is purely phonetic, *credat Judaeus.*

26. In the Umbrian pronoun or pronouns corresponding to the Latin *is ea id,* besides forms derived from the stems *i-* and *e(i)o- e(i)a-* we appear to have double forms with *s* and *r* almost throughout. The forms are given in full by Bücheler, *Umbrica,* p. 192–3.

eso *and* ere.

Nom. sing.	M. *ere, erek*	? *esuf* (for **es-unt-s*)
	F. *eru-k*	*eso*
	N. *eḍek e-rse*	*esum-ek esom(-e)*
Dative, common to both, *esmei esme esmi-k*		
Genitive,	Masc. *er* (?) *erer irer ererek*	
	Fem. *erar, eraront*	
Ablative,	Masc. *eru(-ku)*	*esu(-ku) essu iso isunt*
	Fem. *erāk erāhunt*	*esā*
	Neut.	*issoc esu*
Abl. Pl.	*eriront*	*esir isir esis(-co)*
	erereront (!).	

The genitive plural *erom* (from the stem *i-*) may either be due to the analogy of the genitive plural of feminine nouns, or be explained as the other forms in *r.*

In *ere eso-* may we not see an example of a doublet due to sentence accent in pro-ethnic Italic, *eso-,* accented, as a deictic pronoun, sinking to **ezo-,* unaccented, when it was merely anaphoric, which became *ere* in Umbrian and *eizo-* (*ei* in Latin characters = *í* (ɨ) in the Oscan alphabet) in Oscan? There are many illustrations of this kind of differentiation in pronouns, Eng.

[1] This *-de* appears to have spread by analogy from the neuter forms, the *d* originally being the final of the relative. Perhaps also from the old form of the ablative in *-d,* which was lost except before this suffix (*pu-e = quo* is not ablative but instrumental). Cf. Thurneysen's explanation of Lat. *idem.*

that (deictic) *thət* (conjunction and relative): *them* and *'em*, or indeed the neuter form of the demonstrative *that* appropriated to the deictic meaning, the less emphatic masculine *the* being used for the article. In German *der* 'that,' *der* 'the' (to say nothing of *der* 'who') are only distinguished (except in one or two of the oblique cases) by the emphasis with which they are pronounced, and on p. 439, § 583 ad fin. of the *Grundriss* Brugmann refers to an exactly parallel alternation of *s* and *r*, in this very pronoun (amongst others) in Teutonic due to exactly the same cause. The weakening of the vowel from a full *e* to the half sound variously written *e, i, ei* (ᚾ) would be produced by the same loss of accent. The distinction of meaning is preserved regularly in Umbrian[1], but in Oscan, as in Latin *is*, the anaphoric pronoun is occasionally used as a demonstrative adjective (T. B. 7 *eizeic zicelei*, 11 *eizac egmad*, 24 *eizazunc egmazum*, the only three examples) but regularly (eleven examples in Tab. Bant.) as a pronoun 'he, she, it,' while the *s* form, as we should expect, only occurs in the proper deictic sense (*eisucen zicelud* T. B. 16), since if it were used in an unemphatic position the *s* would sink in Oscan, as it had in pro-ethnic Italic, to the voiced sound, whereas the use of the *z* form in the emphatic position would not exercise any such positive influence to convert the *z* to *s*[2]. The influence of the anaphoric form is no doubt responsible for the *i* in *isunt issoc* etc. This last word brings us to the only difficulty of this view, if difficulty it can be called, the *ss* in *issoc* and *esso* each of which occurs once in the Tables. But before discussing these forms we may notice another certain example of sentence-accent, the infinitive *erom* in Umbrian, *ezom* in Oscan and the forms *eram ero cet.* in Latin[3]. This coincidence in irregularity clearly points to a common cause, the fact that the verb 'to be' was as a rule pronounced, if not altogether as an enclitic, at least without a sufficiently strong independent accent to preserve the original *s*. *Surur*

erom.

surur.

[1] The compound *eri-hont* contains the anaphoric pronoun just as in Latin *idem*. Should we suppose an accent on the affix, *erihónt*?

[2] Cf. c. I. supr. §§ 8—9.

[3] Umbr. *furent*, Lat. *forent fore* may also belong here, v. infr. § 56, p. 77.

again, which Bücheler connects probably enough with *sveso*, comparing the Latin *sirempse*, is on the same accentual footing in the sentence as *igitur*, the first *i* of which is now generally derived from the *a* of *agitur* corrupted by loss of accent. This completes the number of words in Umbrian in which *r* represents original *s* between vowels at the end of the first syllable. The question of the *ss* however is important and is best discussed before we leave the Umbrian forms behind us.

issoc esso.

27. It has been generally assumed that these two forms sufficiently accounted for the *s* between vowels in the remaining forms where it was written singly, as proving that the *ss* was the original form in Umbrian, and therefore also in pro-ethnic Italic, since the pronoun seems to occur in almost all dialects. I think however it will be admitted, after a glance at the evidence briefly discussed in what follows, that though this assumption might have been maintained so long as it seemed necessary from a phonetic point of view, yet if it had to stand or fall simply on the general evidence in support of the *ss*, it could not be defended with any sort of confidence.

Issoc occurs once in VII b. 3, *sve neip portust issoc pusei subra screhto est* 'si nec portarit ita uti supra scriptum est' (Bücheler), and *esso* once in VI a. 43, in the formula '*tiom esso bue peracri pihaclu* (*tertiu*)—(*subocau suboco*)' in the following line in the same formula occurring with a single *s*[1]. But in VI and VII the pronoun occurs elsewhere *thirty-nine times, always with a single s.* In the same line as *issoc* occurs *appei* elsewhere always spelt with a single *p*. In VI and VII we have *ennom* as well as (more frequently except in VII b) *enom*, but the Oscan and Latin forms of the word (e.g. on the Tabula Bantina, where double letters are consistently[2] written where-

[1] It might be suggested that the double *ss* in these two words was connected with the fact that they were slightly 'out of system.' *Issoc* = 'ita' and *essu* might very well be so translated in the formula. So that the traditional spelling held in the pronoun but gave way to the attempt at greater phonetic accuracy in the derivative adverb.

[2] E.g. *mallom* (perh. containing the suffix *-no-*) *meddix*. *medicatinom* (l. 16), *medicatud* (l. 24) as Büch. has pointed out are quite regular, the double letter being lightened in polysyllables.

ever pronounced but only a single *n* in *einom*) seem to prove that a single *n* was original. A still more certain example of double letters etymologically unjustified is *avvei* VI a. 3 which is the only other example besides *essu* in VI. *appei* perhaps = *adque* (cf. ἔς τε) but Bücheler compares ἐπεὶ which would place it on the same level as *avvei:* in any case the double letter is only written once. Where it is not justifiable, the reason for it appears to be an attempt to express the accent on a short syllable; at least I can conceive of no other cause for *avvei ennom*, and it would seem at least a possible explanation especially in the case of *s*[1]. Again, apart from the difficulty of explaining the *ss* etymologically, it is hard to see how it can have arisen in pro-ethnic Italic; I do not know of any words in which it is supposed to be Indo-European, and the change of *tt* to *ss* dces not seem to have taken place in Oscan[2] and therefore not before the separation of the common stock. And further it seems improbable that any language should have possessed two such pronouns as **esso-* and **ezo-* of such closely neighbouring form and meaning but of different origin, yet this is the only alternative view of the relation of the Italic originals of the actual forms we find in Latin, Umbrian and Oscan. Finally the evidence of the Oscan inscriptions is strongly in favour of the single *s*. We have no example at all of a double *ss* in the pronoun though it is of fairly frequent occurrence, and *essuf* (which is not certainly connected, and occurs in Umbrian in II and IV, there of course with a single *s*) only once and on the same inscription as *esidu*, which is one otherwise carelessly engraved. The only Oscan inscriptions bearing on the point are as follows[3]:

Z. O. 17 is the one just mentioned where we have *essuf* side by side with *esidu* (*leiguss* [*L*]*ufrikanuss* also occur). This shews either

[1] Cf. *seffei* for **sefei* = 'sibi' in Pelign. (Zv. I. I. M. D. no. 33) and *bassim* (= βάσων) C. I. L. 1181.

[2] v. infr. § 30 p. 39 seq.

[3] I do not think I have omitted any in which the pronoun occurs except those in which *no* letters are doubled, e.g. Z. O. 7 (*esi.. profated*).

1. If the engraver is trustworthy that the two words are distinct and that the pronoun has only a single *s*;

or, 2, as seems more probable, that the writing is too careless to prove either. We have *uunated* with a single *t* but on other inscriptions (e.g. no. 63) wherever any letters are doubled we have *tt* in these perfect forms.

18. This shews *esidu...prufatted.*

63. *eisak eituvad* with double letters written elsewhere.

143. εσοτ = id; the inscriptions in Greek alphabet have double letters.

In the Tabula Bantina besides the forms with *z* we have the form quoted above *eisucen,* and here double letters are used with great consistency.

This view of *issoc essu* and *essuf* is not essential to the explanation of *ere* and *eizo-* as due to loss of accent, since it seems at least possible that even *ss* should be reduced to a single *z* by the same influence.

III. S *between vowels in Oscan.*

28. We have Oscan inscriptions from *Area of Oscan.*

1. *Samnium,* including the *Frentani.*
2. *Campania.*
3. To the North.

a. In Volscian territory, one name at *Tarracina* in Latin alphabet but with the Oscan mode of nomenclature.

β. Doubtful missiles at *Asculum* in *Picenum.*

γ. Doubtful inscription in Aequicolan territory (Z. O. 1) which Mommsen thinks spurious.

4. To the South

a. *North Lucania.*

β. *Bruttii.*

γ. *Messana.*

No inference therefore can be drawn from *s* or *r* between vowels in geographical names south of the northern boundary of Samnium and Campania.

The direct evidence in Oscan as to the influence of accent is confined to the inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet, since the local character does not distinguish the voiced and breathed *s*, using ⊥ (*z*) only to express the compound *ts.* The Latin *z* represents both this and the voiced *s.* Of course there is a good deal of indirect evidence illustrating the forms in other dialects, most of which has been already discussed in dealing with the Umbrian forms: one point, the question of *tt* or *ss* in Oscan and pro-ethnic Italic, *Extent of the evidence in Oscan inscriptions.*

will be best discussed in connexion with the other Oscan phenomena.

s between vowels at the end of the first syllable.

29. 1. *s* occurs between vowels, representing the breathed sound, at the end of the first syllable in the following words in Oscan.

eisucen T. B. 16	*osii* T. B. 4	*Caisidis* (Z. O. 159)
esuf T. B. 19, 21	*pieisum* T. B. 6	*Aesernim* (Z. O. 166)
nesimum T. B. 17, 26	*praesentid* T. B. 21	(coin in Latin letters)

eisucen, v. supr. § 26.

esuf, § 27.

nesimum, § 18.

osii appears to be a complete word. The stone is not broken off directly before it, but leaves a clear space as though before a new word. Perhaps *amosio* ('*annuo*' Fest. Müll. p. 26) should be referred to Oscan sources.

pieisum, a dissyllable, *pi-* = *qu-*.

praesentid, contrast *ezom*.

Caisidis, an Oscan name as is shewn by its form OV. C. OV. though in Latin letters.

aserum T. B. l. 24, has probably lost a nasal before the *s*. If the *s* is for *ss* (*ad-s-*) it is due to the analogy of the longer forms of the verb in which the single *s* would be regular by Bücheler's law (cited § 27, p. 34, supr. note).

2. *z* occurs between vowels after an unaccented syllable in the following words

angetuzet T. B. 19	*censazet* T. B. 20
eizazunc egmazum T. B. 24	*ezom* T. B. 11 (cf. § 26, p. 33, supr.)

and the pronoun *eizo-* (cf. § 26, p. 33 sup.) and its compound *poizad* (*ligud*) T. B. 20. Cf. *pollad* on the Cipp. Abell. and Umbr. *pora*.

s occurs between vowels after an unaccented syllable only in the last line of the Tabula Bantina, in *tacusim* of which only T..IM are on the stone, the intermediate letters

being Bücheler's conjecture, which would not be affected by the substitution of *z* for *s*.

30. The question whether I.-Eu. *d* + *t*, *t* + *t cet.* had become *ss* in pro-ethnic Italic is one of some importance and bears directly on the Latin change of *s* to *r*, but it is most conveniently discussed in this chapter as most of the evidence comes from Oscan[1]. To begin with however we have the forms *adgretus futus gnitus* given by Festus which shew *t* where classical Latin has *ss*, or *s* after a long vowel (Ost. *Perf.* Exc. VI.). These Brugmann explains (*Gds.* § 501) as contractions like *cette* for *cedite*, *mattus* for *maditus*. This view seems at least somewhat arbitrary. If it were possible to regard the forms as archaic or dialectic it would be much more natural to do so. Further no example is quoted of *ss* in Oscan, only Pelign. *oisa* (v. infr.), but on the contrary *ůittiuf* from the Cippus Abellanus which Brugmann and Osthoff explain in the same way as *adgretus* etc., though, as Bartholomae points out, there is no analogy for such a form as **utitio*. The evidence seems to shew that *tt* was regular in Oscan.

tt or ss in Oscan.

1. We have the double *tt* in the 3rd pers. pl. of the perfect, Osc. *teremnattens*, Pel. *coisattens*. Into the difficult question or rather riddle of the origin of these forms it is needless to enter here. We may hold with Osthoff that they are all derived from the analogy of the perfect of the root *sta-*; or compare the Latin forms in *ss* (*amassem*) with Bartholomae, or with others the Celtic *t* perfect (*asrubirt*), but we are bound to keep in view the fact that the *tt* is regular on all inscriptions which shew any double letters.

Evidence for tt.

[1] This section was written with the body of the Essay in March last (1887) before the publication of Bartholomae's article on the question in *Bezz. Beiträge* XII. The issue there raised is rather broader, and in deference to his authority I have added a note at the end of the chapter dealing directly with the theory he maintains. It is however of equal concern to both of us to shew that I.-Eu. *t* + *t*, *d* + *t cet.* = Osc. *tt*, not *ss* as in Latin. I have therefore left this section as it was first written, only noticing where Bartholomae gives evidence that had escaped me or questions any I had accepted. As we worked independently, there is no need to point out more exactly how far our investigations coincided or diverged.

There is no doubt about the form whatever there may be about its explanation.

2. *ûittiuf* occurs several times quite clearly on the Cipp. Ab.

3. *punttram* (ib.) contrasts with the Latin *tonstrix* etc., and perhaps shews the same stem as Skt. *panth- path-* (= *pn̥th-*). But in this word and in *alttram* Bartholomae considers the *tt* a purely Oscan extension of an original *t*.

4. The following names (if they are not genuine Oscan, what are they?):

Siuttiis Zv. O. 62.
Tittius Zv. O. 108.
Bla... Zv. O. 111 which is taken as the beginning of the Roman name *Blattius*.
Κοττει etc. Zv. O. 147—152; contrast Latin *Cossus*.
Σταττιης Zv. O. 160.

5. Bartholomae gives also

a. [*a*]*ittium* C. Ab. 53, cf. *aeteis* T. B. 12 and Gr. αἶσα.

β. *patt....* Zv. O. 4 which Bartholomae reads as **pattens*, considering it a sigmatic aorist from the root *pat-*. He traces the participle in *viu pat*[*tust*] Zv. O. 73.

γ. *angetuzet* T. B. "= *ingesserint*," which however for the present at least seems doubtful.

6. The two Latin words *futtilis* (in meaning clearly connected with *fundo* but contrasting with the genuine Latin *fusilis*) and *rutilus* (*rutilare*) which looks like a connexion of *RUDH*[1] (*rufus ruber* ἐρυθρὸς) seem easily explained as borrowings. Their limited signification points the same way, v. infr. § 44, p 61. So does the combination *P. Rutilius Rufus*[2], the last word being certainly Oscan by the side of Lat. *ruber*. *ruttilo-* or rather *ruttlo-* and *rutlā-* (*-om* etc.) would be the regular forms of the two stems in Oscan like *meddix* and *medicā*(*-tud*) by Bücheler's law[3]. The

futtilis rutilus mitto gutta guttur littera.

[1] So Stolz, though he does not explain the *t*.
[2] Cic. Br. 29.
[3] Cf. p. 34 n. supr.

Romans in borrowing the word took the easier form and still further lightened it by the anaptyctic vowel[1]. *Futtilis* would be a regular adjective in *-ili-* formed from the stem of the past participle like *fusilis fissilis missilis rasilis sutilis* and many more given by Roby, to be distinguished from those like *utilis agilis habilis nubilis fragilis facilis* formed from the verbal stem. Further the words *mitto gutta* (*guttur*) *littera* (which seems certainly the right spelling) are quite simply explained as Oscan on this hypothesis. *mitto* is a frequentative (i.e. a nominal from the past participle) from the root seen in O. H. G. *mīdan; gutta* a past participle, and *littera*, probably **littra* in Oscan, a noun from the root or stem *lit-* with the common instrumental suffix *-tra-*, like *punt-tram*[2].

Against this there is simply no evidence in Oscan. The only possible example of *s* or *ss* derived from *tt* is *Fisanius* Z. O. 83, one of a batch of inscriptions in which double letters are regular, and *Fiisu*.. in Z. O. 38 (v. supr. § 19, p. 25). Of course these names might be very easily borrowed. *Elisuist* in Z. O. 11, as the form shews, contains a stem *lis* found also in *liisd*.. *In no other Oscan inscription is there any example of* s *or* ss *derived from* tt. In Pelignian (Z. D. 12) we have the phrase *casnar oisa aetate*, the second word of which is generally taken as a past participle of *utor* in a passive sense, 'having ended his life' or 'having enjoyed (great) age' (? *aetate*), the former of which is scarcely the sort of sentiment we expect on the tomb of a man who further describes himself as *Des forte faber* ('dives, fortunae faber').

Pelignian.

[1] Bartholomae supposes *rutilus* derived from Etruscan, but there is of course no evidence for this beyond the phonetic possibility he maintains.

[2] Ost. *Perf.* p. 557 gives the four words just mentioned together with *littus litus, glūtus gluttire, mūtus muttire, būca bucca, Jūpiter Juppiter, stūpa stuppa, mūcus muccus, sūcus succus;* 'es ist eben wie gesagt ein problem fur künftige forschung, noch einmal die lösung des rätsels zu finden, nach welchem princip die lateinische sprache zur ausprägung solcher—sei es satzphonetischer *sei es auch dialektischer*—doubletten geläugte.' After all the riddle does not seem very terrible. *littus* for *litus* may safely be ascribed to confusion with *littera:* in all the others it is noteworthy that we have an accented *u* before the double letter. In all but *sucus* the Romance forms vouch for a short vowel in popular Latin, and it may at least be conjectured that the easier *ū, ū̆* took the place of *ū* when accented while the consonant took the length that the vowel dropped.

Sanskrit *ēnas* ('that') = Latin *oinos* ('one');
ēkas 'one' perhaps = Oscan *eko-* 'that.'

Why should not
Sanskrit *ēṣas* 'that' (Gr. *οἷος*) = Pelign. *oisa*,

so that *casnar oisa aetatə* = '*senex unica aetate*,' which contrasts very well with the 'few feet' (*pes pros*) of soil he occupies?

If this explanation be rejected as too fanciful we must either take Bartholomae's suggestion (*Bezz. Beitr.* 12. 80) that the spelling with *s* is due to Latin influence like the word *faber* and the alphabet used in the inscription, or suppose that *ss* was regular in Pelignian as in Latin and Umbrian; the difficulty would be that Pelignian has the *t* perfect as regularly as Oscan (*coisatens* Zv. D. 29). But there is clearly no warrant for doubting that *tt* was regular in Oscan. If so, it would naturally seem to follow, *pace* Bartholomae's theory, that *tt* was kept in pro-ethnic Italic, and only sank to a sibilant in some of the separate dialects. Accordingly *adgretus* etc. would naturally be regarded as archaic forms, perhaps of the same age as *Lases*, *Auselius*, with others quoted by the glossographers, and the newly-discovered *Numasioi* on the Praenestine inscription (v. infr. § 34, p. 48).

NOTE. In the article I have referred to ('Die Vertretung des altital. *ss* im Oskischen,' *B. B.* XII. 80) Bartholomae develops a theory that Indo-European *d*+*t*, *t*+*t* *cet.* had already sunk to *ss* or some approximate sound in pro-ethnic Italic, which in Oscan was once more converted to *tt* or *þþ*. His main concern is to shew that *tt* does appear in Oscan to represent I.-Eu. *t*+*t* etc., which as we have seen is certainly the case. The rest of his proof seems far more problematical. It is necessary to follow the argument a little closely since, if correct, it affects some of the evidence on the Latin change of *s* to *r*, though almost equally in favour of and against my theory. Its loss and gain can be estimated very shortly. Two words in which *s* derived from *tt* is kept after an unaccented syllable and which I had explained[1] on the view that the *tt* was kept in Latin till after 350 B.C. when the period of rhotacism was over, are now thrown on our hands, *quasillus* and *excusare*. The former like *pusillus* must then have come into use from Oscan or Sabine later than 350 B.C., and the *s* of *excusare* etc. may have been kept by *caussa*. On the other hand if *ss* (*s* after long vowels) had replaced *tt* from the earliest times in Latin my theory gains

[1] v. infr. § 51, p. 72.

the not inconsiderable support of the mass of past participles like *laesus fusus rosus cet.* in all of which we should then regard the preservation of the *s* as due to accent, just as much as in *cāseus rŏsa* etc.

The arguments for Bartholomae's theory as opposed to the view I have advocated may be very briefly summarised. In justice to him I should add that he seems throughout to regard it as a matter of common agreement, following Osthoff and Brugmann, that I.-Eu. *tt* had become *ss* in pro-ethnic Italic, and does not attempt to establish this point directly. The only forms in which an admittedly original *s* or *ss* seems to him to have become *t* are

1. *patt-[ens?]* Zv. O. 4 which he derives as an aorist from **pat-sens.*

2. The very doubtful "*angetuzet* (T. B.)=*ingesserint.*" The meaning of '*ingesserint*' does not seem very happy in the sentence where it occurs. '*aestimaverint*' is the equivalent usually given for the word from the needs of the context.

3. The perfect in *tt* which he compares, clearly with great probability, to the Latin forms in *ss*, *amassem* etc. But it must be observed that even from Thurneysen's investigations the origin of the doubled *s* in such forms is hardly certain, though if we assume them to be merely bye-forms of the *s-* or *-sis-* aorist, Bartholomae's view would give us a very satisfactory explanation of the Oscan forms.

If his theory were merely that original *ss* became *tt* in Oscan it would present no difficulties from my standpoint. Of the objections that follow only those in Oscan would possess any weight against such a view and these are not very serious.

Turning however to the arguments against the theory as it stands, we encounter a good many substantial difficulties.

A. In Oscan.

1. *aserum* T. B. 20, where the first *s* is probably from *-ds-* (*ad-s-*), Bartholomae regards as a late formation.

2. *meliïssai* Zv. 95, if correctly transcribed, he considers a Greek word.

3. *essuf* he explains as for **eksuf*, but the *ss* is of very doubtful authority, v. § 27, p. 35 supr. So also *n[e]ssimas* Zv. O. 41, which is not so certain, as the *s* is elsewhere regular in this word. Cf. § 18, p. 28 supr.

B. In Latin.

1. *adgretus futus gnitus.*

2. (*r*)*ss* remains in *vorsus prōsa* etc. whereas in words out of system, if the *s* had existed from the earliest period of Latin we should have expected the regular change of *rs* to *rr*.

3. A very serious difficulty to the view that *tt* > *ss* was an Italic not a Latin change is the retention of the *ss* in spelling even after long

vowels down to Cicero's time. It seems equally improbable that the language should have kept for four centuries either the sound of the *ss* in that position, or the spelling after the sound was lost. Of course the *ss* in writing may have been merely due to the influence of the forms after short vowels like *missus*, but again it seems very improbable that the double letters, which themselves were quite a late introduction, should have been written except where they were sounded. The difficulty vanishes if we suppose the change of *tt* to *ss* only newly completed when double letters began to be written. The long vowel would not lighten the consonant all at once.

4. Finally there are the words *quasillus excusare* mentioned above which are more difficult to explain on Bartholomae's hypothesis.

C. Generally.

1. No one supposes *tt* had become *ss* in Indo-European and therefore we cannot start with more than *þþ* in Italic,

2. and if therefore this *þþ* became *ss* in Italic before the dialects split, is it likely that individual dialects should exhibit the converse change of *ss* to *tt*?

3. The forms with *tt* in Latin (v. supr.) must have come from somewhere, and it does not seem likely that the same people who failed to pronounce *tt* without lisping should have so altered a century or two later as to change *t* to *tt*.

4. Briefly we have three certainties to argue from—

a. Original $\left.\begin{matrix} d \\ t \\ \text{etc.} \end{matrix}\right\} + t$ in Indo-European,

β. *tt* in corresponding positions in Oscan, and

γ. *ss* in Latin.

Clearly the obvious conclusion is that

i. Italic *tt*

ii. remained *tt* in Oscan, and

iii. became *ss* in Latin.

This may seem a very small result of so long a digression but the belief in an Italic *ss* seems to be a superstition that dies hard. It is to be hoped that even its ghost may haunt us no more.

IV. *Rhotacism in the Minor Dialects.*

31. Since the evidence from the minor dialects is so scanty it might seem more logical to discuss them after Latin, but there is very little to be said about them and it is more convenient to place it directly after that of Oscan and Umbrian, to which of course they are more closely akin. *Arrangement.*

Mommsen (*Untert. Diall.*) enumerates *Scope.*

Messapian
Oscan
Volscian
Sabellian { Marsian, Marrucinian, Sabine, Picentine.

Zvétaieff (*Inscrr. It. Med. Dial.*) gives inscriptions from

Picentes	Marsi
Marrucini	Aequicolani
Sabini	Volsci
Vestini	Falisci
Peligni	Capenates.

Mommsen (p. 96) describes the *Messapii* as 'ein vorgriechischer den Kretern und Makedonern gleichartiger Stamm.' The rest may be discussed in Zvétaieff's order, i.e. the geographical from North to South, leaving the Falisci and Capenates to the last as more akin to the Latin. It will be seen that in many dialects, e.g. Volscian, where it has been assumed there was no rhotacism on the ground of the occurrence of *s* between vowels in several words at the end of the first syllable, the evidence for

such a conclusion is greatly shaken by that of Umbrian and Oscan already discussed. What newer results seem to be afforded by the evidence are given by the table and map at the end of this chapter.

Picentine.

32. Zv. D. 1—4.

There appears to be no final rhotacism in the Picentine inscriptions: e.g. *tetis*: *alies*:

Otherwise

1. So far as they can be said to be deciphered, they appear to offer no evidence as to rhotacism, and
2. If they did no conclusions could be based on materials so completely uncertain.

The names of places, etc., however in Picenum appear to afford ground for supposing that in respect of rhotacism Picentine occupies the same position as Umbrian[1]. *Falerio* (Mod. *Fallerone*) was a municipal town only made into a colony under Augustus (Plin. iii. 13. 18). The name can hardly be separated from that of *Falerii* (Mod. *Falleri*) in South Etruria, where *Falisci* shews that *r* represents an original *s*. The river *Flusor*, too (Mod. *Chienti*), which appears in the *Tabula Peutingea* is most naturally regarded as an *os- es-* stem like *arbor*[2] derived from *Fluusa* (Osc.). It is not quite easy to see the origin of the *s* if it is connected with *fluo*. If rhotacism was present *Cumerus* (Mod. *M. Comero*) may contain an original *s* and the following names may be fairly regarded as further evidence for the explanation already suggested of the words in Umbrian which shew *s* between vowels after the first syllable.

Names in Picenum. River *Flosis* (Mod. *Potenza*), marked in Smith's and Droysen's Atlases.

[1] In this and the following *names* of places I am indebted for most of the references to De Vit's *Onomasticon* or the *Dictionary of Geography*.

[2] The lengthening of the stem-vowel in *honōrem*, etc., is perhaps peculiar to Latin.

River *Misius* (Mod. *Asola*, distinct from R. *Miscus*, Mod. *Musone*).

Pausulae Plin. iii. 13. 18.

Mod. Riv. *Aso*.

Marrucinian.

33. Zv. D. 5—7.

No. 5. In Sabellic alphabet. In the transliteration so far accepted (though scarcely as yet translated) we have the words *No evidence in inscriptions.*

asin rurasim (Corssen 'rusticum') *irkesie irim.*

asin gives no certain evidence as to rhotacism.

In *rurasim* the *a* is the same symbol (∀) elsewhere transliterated by *ů*, but the *a* in *asin* is ψ. The word is altogether doubtful in form and it is improbable that *rur-* should be the same stem as the Latin *ruris* on the same inscription as *asin* by the side of the Umbrian *asa rusem.* On the original we have it punctuated *ru*: *růsim.*

irkesie, taken from I·RK..S:IE. The meaning of this word and of *irim* is unknown.

No. 6. The Bronze of Rapino in Latin alphabet. It shews (apparently) that Marrucinian had no final rhotacism (*aisos*, *asignas*). It has no double consonants (*amatens Maroucai*). The dialect seems intermediate to Oscan and Umbrian, final *ns* becomes *f* (*iafc*) as in Umbrian but the diphthongs are preserved as in Oscan.

No. 7. In Latin alphabet AS. an abbreviation for *Asinii filius.*

On the whole there is no evidence of rhotacism, and therefore *aisos* ('deis') *asignas* ('natas ad aram') *esuc* ('illo') *asum* ('arsum,' cf. § 18, p. 22, supr.) prove nothing; on the other hand they are no evidence against rhotacism in the dialect. There are no names in the district which help us, but geographical considerations, as is clear from a glance at Mr Heawood's map,

point to the conclusion that rhotacism was absent from Marrucinian as from Sabine.

Sabine, etc.

No rhotacism in Sabine.

34. On the only Sabine inscription (Zv. D. 8) we have *mesene* (as Bücheler has shewn for *mensene*) and *Flusare* = Lat. Florali. But the glosses (collected by Mommsen) and many names we find to be distinctively Sabine shew clearly that there was no rhotacism. *Fasena, Auselius, Lebasius, Valesius, Volesus*[1], *Volusus* are given by various authorities as Sabine. Also *Casinum* Varro (LL. 7, 28, 29) interprets as 'vetus.' *crepero res creperae* Varro says are also Sabine and connected with *crepusculum;* if so they were probably borrowed with the *s* form. Of Sabine origin are the host of gentile names at Rome in *-sius* which begin to be very frequent on inscriptions under the Empire and had doubtless been widely in use among the un-official classes a good deal earlier. The influx is perhaps to be connected with the migration of the agricultural population to Rome which the reformers strove in vain to check or reverse. Such names are *Calvisius Numisius Volusius Aedesius Agrasius,* cf. also *Maesius* '*lingua Osca*' Fest. Müll. p. 136. It is curious to note a trace of the origin of the name in the conjunction *Calvisius Sabinus,* the friend of Pliny the younger, and also *Caesius Sabinus* (Mart. 7. 27) *Caesia Sabina* (Cic. pro Caec. 4, 6), and this last name may share with the Umbrian *Caesena* and the Latin *Kaeso* the parentage of the numerous gentile names[2] beginning with *Caes-, Caesennia*[3] *Caesellia Caesernia Caesetia Caesidia Caesiena Caesilia Caesinia Caesionia.*

Sabine names at Rome.

In the new Latin inscription on the fibula from Praeneste we have the dative of a proper name, *Numasioi.* If the date, as Bücheler[4] holds with the explorers Helbig and Dümmler, is

[1] The name of a gigantic Sabine Juv. 8. 182, Ov. Pont. 3. 2. 105.

[2] Taken from De Vit.

[3] Also *Caesenia,* C.I.L. 1191, the *n* being probably doubled by the Latin accent in its third stage.

[4] *Rheinisches Museum,* Vol. 42 (1887), 2nd no.

as early as the 5th or 6th century B.C. it might be considered an interesting example of Latin in which *s* had not yet passed to *r*. At that date it is immaterial whether we regard it as Latin or Sabine.

35. The solitary Vestinian inscription (Zv. D. 9) offers no evidence. From geographical considerations it probably ranks with Sabine and Marrucinian. *Vestinian.*

Pelignian (Zv. D. 10 foll.) certainly coincided with Oscan, e.g. 28 *T. Valesies* 29 *upsaseter...coisatens.* The sign *s* however is always used even where (e.g. *upsaseter*) in the Tabula Bantina we have *z* (*censazet*). *oisa* in 12 has been already discussed. *Minerva* in 33 cannot be a true Pelignian form though the inscription was found at Sulmo. *Pelignian.*

Marsian.

36. Here again the inscriptions (Zv. D. 34 foll.) give no help. We have *s* between vowels but only after the first syllable *esos* (37), *Caso Casuntonom* (43), *Vesune* (41). Pliny (H. N. 17. 22, quoted by Mommsen) notices a similarity between the Umbrian and Marsian met hods of vine culture, which it must be confessed does not prove much. But geographically the Marsi appear connected with the Latins and Volscians and therefore very probably shared their rhotacism.

NOTE. In Zv. D. 39 (which Mommsen and others consider a Latin inscription) the third letter of the name of the deity, elsewhere called *Vesuna*, has been generally read as *z*. It will be seen however on inspection of the facsimile (Tab. VI. 6) that the inscription has been carelessly engraved with only a straight tool (e.g. the *o*'s are square ◇). Hence to make *s* three strokes were required, ⋚, but the engraver[1] was careless about joining the strokes at the right points and instead of ⋚ we get the lowest stroke affixed too high ⋜ (the *s* in the last word *libs*) and the middle stroke joined to the top too far forward ⅄ ⅄ the sign in the supposed '*Vezune.*' The sign at the end of the first line ∧ is the same with *Note as to 'Vezune.'*

[1] Compare the forms of Σ on the Locrian inscr. Roehl I. G. A. 321.

its top stroke lost, and all of them are merely equivalent to the Latin *s* denoting probably as in Pelignian both the breathed and voiced sound.

Volscian.

Aequian.

37. The Aequicolan inscriptions, if they are genuine, give no evidence. But we have the names *Cliternum* (Plin. iii. 17. 1) *Amiternum* which may contain *-es* stems (v. supr. p. 16, § 11). *Norvesiae* proves nothing in our ignorance of the Aequian accent and may have lost an *n* before the *s*. The map shews that the geographical argument is not very decisive, but it seems slightly to favour a connexion between Volscian Aequian Marsian and Latin.

Volscian.

Mommsen states that 'rhotacism is strange to Volscian' relying on the occurrence of *s* between vowels in the only inscription (the Tabula Veliterna), but it is always after the first syllable, *esaristrom* (cf. Umbr. *esona*), *asif* ('arens') and the name *Cosuties*, and *s* occurs here in Umbrian where rhotacism was certainly present. Generally the dialect seems closely akin to Umbrian e.g. in the palatalisation of *k* before *e* and *i* (*fasia*), and the change of final *-ns* to *f*. *pihom* recalls the Umbrian *pihatu*, etc. The geographical names too, *Frŭsino* (Juv. 3. 224, Mod. *Frosinone*) *Casinum* by the side of *Liris* (which was originally **Loisis* if it is to be connected with *lira*) *Privernum* (p. 15) and the coin inscription *Auruncud* in Sabine letters if it really is to be regarded as a genuine Volscian form dating from the time when Aurunca still existed, i.e. before it was destroyed by the Sidicini in 336 B.C.[1], all point to rhotacism under much the same conditions as in Latin, and *Auruncud* would apparently shew that the Volscian accent was the same as the Latin, though I do not think any emphasis can really be laid upon this word. The strong resemblance to Umbrian in other respects seems to me the chief ground for supposing rhotacism in Volscian.

[1] Cf. infr. § 56, p. 78.

Faliscan.

38. Though there is a fairly large number of inscriptions assigned to this dialect the evidence is somewhat confused and it is difficult to arrive at more than a probable conclusion. The following are all the words that occur which affect the question of rhotacism:

Faliscan difficult.

No. 55. *Cesilia* = Lat. *Caesellia.*

56. *Caesula.*

60. *Zertenea* = *Sertinia,* cf. 68 *de zenatuo sententiad,* which seems to indicate the origin of the *z,* the preposition being treated as part of the word and the accent of the compound falling on one of the following syllables, *dezénātuo* or *dezenátuo* (according as the Faliscan accent was Italic or Latin). Such phrases as these caused a variation in the spelling and the *z* appeared for initial *s* even where there was nothing in its surroundings in the sentence to cause the change of sound. This explanation implies nothing as to rhotacism since the originally sibilant character of the first sound would be preserved in any case by the influence of the large number of cases in which there was no tendency to change it to *r* or *z.* The difference between *s* and *z* would be less anomalous.

Initial z.

On this inscription (60) we find *mate:* for *mater,* and in 68 *pretod de zen. sent.* shewing that final *r* had a weak easily assimilated sound as in Cretan and modern English.

Final r *breathed.*

65. *M. Clipearius.*

68. *Menerva.*

70 a (the inscription in Saturnians). *Gond*[*ec*]*orant, sai*-[*pis*]*sume, dederun*[*t*], *sesed.*

70 b. *Minervai, dederunt, coiraveront.* This part of the inscription Zvétaieff considers a later addition in Latin. It has no trace of either Faliscan dialect or Etruscan alphabet.

71. *Voltio Folcozeo Zextoi f.* On the *Z* of *Zextoi,* cf. supr. no. 60.

This appears to be all the evidence on the question. It leaves us three alternatives:

Conclusion.

1. To consider Faliscan a non-rhotacising dialect, regarding *Menerva Clipearius* as borrowed from Latin and 70 a as being pure Latin as much as 70 b. Then *Caesula* as contrasted with *Folcozeo*[1] gives us the original relation between sound and accent. This seems however unlikely since

α. *Menerva* occurs in a certainly non-Latin inscr., though it also occurs in Pelignian, and

β. the modern name (which wherever it is derived from the ancient appears invariably to represent the pronunciation of it prevailing on the spot) of *Falērii* is *Falleri*. This seems to prove also that the Faliscans kept the old Italic accent on the first syllable.

γ. The geographical position of the Faliscans renders it probable that they shared the rhotacism of the Latins and Umbrians.

2. To consider Faliscan identical with Latin in point of rhotacism though keeping the Italic accent. *Caesula* and *Caesellia* prove no more in Faliscan than in Latin as their origin is so uncertain. We should in this case regard *Folcozeo* as an Oscan or Sabine name with its original sound exactly reproduced. *Coiraveront* in 70 b if it is not actually Latin, would give us the same difficulty as the Latin *coira cura* v. infra § 58, p. 79, and *Clipearius* would be regular.

3. To consider Faliscan rhotacism identical with Latin *minus* the changes due to *i* and *u*. Here as in Umbrian there is really no evidence on the question. *Caesula* would be regular.

Of these alternatives the second seems far the most probable and has been assumed in the colouring of the map.

[1] The name *Folcatius* appears in the Index to the first volume of the C. I. L. but in the inscr. (783) it is only a doubtful conjecture, which should perhaps be corrected by the Faliscan form.

Summary.

39. The dialects may be divided into five classes in point of rhotacism, though perhaps to little purpose, since a characteristic of this kind argues very little by its presence or absence for the affinity of any two dialects in other respects. Indeed the whole argument from geography rests on the 'chain' as opposed to the 'tree' theory.

TABLE

SHEWING THE PREVALENCE OF

RHOTACISM IN THE ITALIC DIALECTS

AS EVIDENCED BY TRADITION, INSCRIPTIONS, AND LOCAL NAMES.

Names in brackets are included under the name they follow.

I. Dialects in which Rhotacism was certainly present.

1. Latin (Rutulian).
2. Umbrian. In this dialect only both *final* and *medial* Rhotacism.

II. Dialects in which Rhotacism was probably present.

1. Picentine.
2. Faliscan.
3. Volscian.

III. Dialects in which there is no evidence but that of geographical contiguity.

1. Marsian.
2. Aequian.
3. Hernican.
4. Vestinian.
5. Auruncanian.

IV. Dialect in which Rhotacism was probably absent.

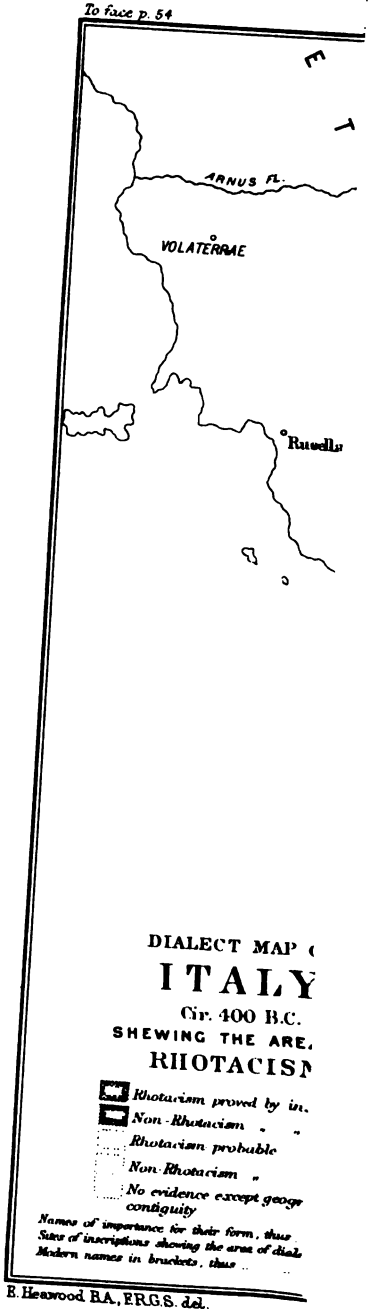
Marrucinian.

V. Dialects in which Rhotacism was certainly absent.

1. Pelignian.
2. Sabine.
3. Oscan (Bantian).

The result is embodied in Mr Heawood's map. Names whose form is of importance are printed in ordinary type: those in Italics shew the distribution of the dialects as denoting the places where inscriptions have been found: those in capitals have no reference to the argument. Modern names are enclosed in brackets. The ground plan of the tribal divisions is enlarged and slightly modified from those given by Mommsen (*Unterit. Diall.*) and Droysen (*Historische Handatlas*).

To face p. 54



E. Heawood B.A., F.R.G.S. del.

V. S *between vowels in Latin.*

A. *Introductory.*

40. The exceptions to the change of *s* to *r* between vowels in Latin have always been recognised but their number seems comparatively small, and at first sight unlikely to suggest any substantial modification of the principle. So far as I know no endeavour has hitherto been made to limit the rule by any conditions which would account for the cases in which it is apparently suspended. The theory maintained in what follows is not without difficulties (notably *vīrus āra*), and without the strong confirmatory evidence of the other dialects could scarcely be called established. It is simply an attempt to discover some characteristic difference common to the majority of the forms to be explained, in lieu of the separate hypotheses hitherto advanced to account for them singly. The rule was originally suggested by the changes in Teutonic and Sanskrit, but it did not reach its present form until it had been tested by all the examples I could find from any available source, such as the indices of Varro and Festus. When the tale of evidence was complete the theory seemed to me to be greatly confirmed (1) by the exact coincidence of the corollaries which followed from it as to the change of the Latin Accent with what was already known independently on the subject, and (2) by the greater ease with which the result seemed explicable from a physiological standpoint (v. supr. § 6—8). Finally my faith in the rule as it had so far been developed was strengthened by (3) the fact that of the various schemes by which from time to time it seemed possible to reduce the mass of facts to

Aspect of the question in Latin.

Preliminary considerations in support of the theory.

External:
(1) *Accent.*
(2) *Phonetics.*

Internal:
(3) *Economy of material.*

something like intelligible order, none made such economical use of the examp'es, i.e. there was none in which the same word appeared so rarely under different headings. It is perhaps inevitable that there should be a certain amount of crossing between the classes, since in many cases a particular change may be the result of more than one cause, either of which would have been singly sufficient to produce it, as a man may have more than one motive for an action. Nevertheless in comparing rival schemes, that is clearly the most exact, and therefore in reality the simplest and truest, which can find a separate category for each separate aggregate of similar cases, or, so to speak, can house the different families of words within the strongest and thickest party-walls. But inasmuch as the present scheme was only gradually developed it is probably still open to improvement, though for the reasons indicated I am inclined to be content with it as a fair working hypothesis. Accordingly in this as in preceding sections prominence has been given to the difficulties as well as to the advantages of the arrangement adopted. Of one thing however I am convinced, there is some definite rule, if not discovered, then waiting discovery.

Scope of these Introductory Remarks.

41. Before however proceeding to discuss the evidence in the same way in this as in the other Italic dialects, there are one or two general questions arising from the fuller state of our information as to Latin which must be noticed first. These are (1) the points in which the change appears to present special phonetic characteristics, (2) the legitimacy of the 'borrowing' hypothesis, (3) the date of the change of *s* to *r* in Latin, and (4) the bearing of the evidence of rhotacism on the change of the Latin accent.

Characteristics of the change special to Latin.

1. Influence of i *and* u *on the*

42. Apart from the general phonetic aspect of the change of *s* to *r* which has been already discussed, two features in Latin rhotacism call for remark, as being apparently peculiar to it, namely the influence of *i* and *u*, and the influence of the *r* resulting from *s* on a preceding vowel[1]. As to the first, it

[1] Br. *Gds.* § 33. 1.

change.
2. Influence of the change on ĭ *and* ŭ.

may or may not be peculiar to Latin[1]; the second appears absent in Umbrian, *furent* corresponding to the Latin *forent*[2]. The rule is that ĭ and ŭ preceding *r* that has come from *s* become ĕ and ŏ respectively. Not much stress can be laid on such examples as *tempus temporis, cinis cineris,* as the *o* in the first case probably and the *e* in the second possibly, represents the original vowel, but in *sero* (ἵημι) where the *e* is the vowel of the present-reduplication, we know *i* was original, and it is extremely probable that this was the case in the other two verbs of more or less parallel form, *gero* and *queror,* where the Latinised Celtic *gaesum* and the Latin *quaeso quaero* seem to shew the strong form of the regular *ai* : *i* Ablaut in the *Short A* series, **giso* and **quiso* (cf. *miser* : *maestus*) being '6th class' or 'aorist' presents, like *mĭc-āre lĭqu-ēre* cet. It is perhaps as well to remark that this influence of *r* upon *i* and *u* is not in any way inconsistent with their influence on *s*. *r* may be easier to pronounce than *s* in connexion with *i* and *u*, but *o* and *e* easier with *r* than *i* and *u*. Thus

$$\left.\begin{matrix}(u)ru\\(i)ri\end{matrix}\right\}\text{ are easier than }\left\{\begin{matrix}(u)su\\(i)si\end{matrix}\right.,\text{ but also }\left.\begin{matrix}or\\er\end{matrix}\right\}\text{ easier than }\left\{\begin{matrix}ur\\ir\end{matrix}\right..$$

It is however remarkable that an *original r*, as in *vir, vireo, pirus, hirundo, hirudo,* does not exercise this influence on a preceding *i*. The reason I suppose must be that the Latin *r*, which came from Indo-European, was a genuine trilled consonant, while the *r* which arose from the careless and, so to speak, *slight* pronunciation of *s* had more vocalic character, and consequently more influence on the preceding vowel[3].

[1] v. § 20 supr. p. 26.

[2] The difference however is probably not phonetic. *Furent benurent* would be restored on the analogy of the singular *fust benust* while in Latin the analogy worked conversely, perhaps helped by the infin. *fore* which may be for **fuere. tuderor* etc. shew the regular *e*.

[3] This seems fairly well illustrated by the English pronunciation of *r*. "It is strongest [i.e. most genuinely consonantal] between two vowels, as in *merit*" (A. M. Bell, quoted by Roby, Vol. I. App. I.), and it does not seem much harder to pronounce the *i* in *birret* than the *e* in *merit:* but where the *r* has its weak sound as before a consonant or finally it always 'broadens' (more correctly I think 'lowers') the vowel, as in *fir bird, cur curd* where the vowel is not to be

An interesting example of this is the difference between the Latin *Flōra* and the Oscan *Fluusa*[1]. The original of both was **Flóvoza* or *Flóvuza* in Italic (perhaps shewing the same participial suffix as some trace in the neuter in Lat. *papāver cadāver*, and therefore representing[2] the I.-Eu. stem **bhl̥-* *-u̯ós-*), which in Latin became immediately either **Flóvora* or **Flóvura*, and ultimately in either case **Flovora* and, contracted, *Flōra*, while in Oscan either **Flóvoza* sank to **Flóvuza*, or the latter was the form before the languages separated, and **Flóvuza* became **Flouza*, and ultimately **Flūza* written *Fluusa*. This seems to cast some doubt on the derivation suggested for the Picentine river *Flusor* (p. 46), since if the contraction had not taken place in Italic it would probably have become **Flóvura*, and hence **Flūror* as the Latin *Flōra*. We may suppose, however, that the contraction had taken place in Umbrian before the period of rhotacism, and this is also indicated by the Umbr. *rusem- e*[3], as contrasted with the Latin *ruris* (Zend *ravanh-*) *thuris* (θύος?). This divergence between the influence, or rather the date of the contractive influence, of accent in Latin and the other Italic dialects is further indicated by the Latin[4] *óper-is, húmerus, númerus* by the side of the Umbrian *onse* and the Oscan *ûûpsannam* Νιουμσιις, and need not surprise us more than the general divergence of Latin accent from the Italic, which was preserved in the other dialects. At a time when accent was shifting, as it must have done in

Lat. Flora. Osc. Fluusa. Pic. Flusor.

Chronology of Umbrian rhotacism.

distinguished from that of *her herd, visitor word.* Note that the pronunciation of *stirring*, etc. is due to the influence of *stir*, etc.

[1] Note that of course *s* in the Oscan alphabet may represent either the voiced or the breathed sound.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to observe that it does not represent the I.-Eu. feminine form, but an Italic feminine formed from the masculine stem, i.e. the noun which became in Latin *flōs*.

[3] The accent which by the contraction in Umbrian fell on the syllable immediately before the *z* would not it is true (§ 26, p. 33) convert it to the breathed sound but it certainly would prevent its change to *r*.

[4] This will be, I think, admitted as an easier explanation than Brugmann's hypothesis of an Indo-European doublet **ómeso-* **ómso*. Further examples of a contraction which took place after but *not before* the rhotacism are the forms *dedro cedre*.

Latin before the rhotacism (v. infr. § 47), it would naturally be given in pronunciation with less marked emphasis, and hence would not exercise so much contracting influence, and the same interval which allowed the change in Latin from the old accent to the new, would allow the old accent to produce its normal effect in other dialects where it was preserved; so that there is nothing to prevent our supposing, as it is natural to do, that rhotacism took place, medially, at the same time in both Latin and Umbrian.

Correlation of specialised grammar and borrowed words.

43. Why then should Latin shew these special phonetic characteristics, that is if we choose to regard them as peculiar to it? This brings us at once to the second point to be discussed, the question of *Borrowing*. A glance at any tribal map of Italy reminds us how small a number of people the Latins were compared with the multitude of aliens with whom they came perpetually into close contact. At war and at peace, fighting side by side with them in the Roman armies, or against them almost annually for the first century of the republic and more, admitting them by degrees to full Roman citizenship, erecting public monuments in all the free towns with inscriptions written by Romans, but in the local dialect;—in these and a hundred other ways the Latin-speaking folk were constantly forced to know something of the dialects spoken by their neighbours, and of these perhaps especially the Sabines and Samnites. And the fact that we find a certain number of words borrowed from these sources completely adopted into the Latin vocabulary is the almost inevitable consequence of the history of the language itself. Thanks to the same geographical position, at once central and isolated, which trained the Romans to the headship of the Italic peoples, the language they spoke became in many respects unique among its kindred dialects, such for example as its accent, the imperfect in *-bam*, the infinitive in *-re*, the curious development of the 'perfects' in *-si* and *-ui*; and while these strong individual characteristics, partly as signs of the character of the people who spoke it, partly as rendering it intrinsically a finer language, won for it the predomi-

nance over its rivals, the isolation of which they are the signs necessitated a considerable addition to its vocabulary when it was spread over a large area. A conquering people may often adopt the language of the conquered, as the Normans in England; but it seems that nearly always a language which is adopted largely by aliens, though its grammatical structure may remain long unaltered, admits a host of strange words into its vocabulary. This was the case for example in the transition from Attic to the Κοινή, and from Latin to the several Romance languages[1].

Evidence of borrowing in particular words.

44. In general of course it is regarded as a fair assumption that a word whose form we find it difficult to explain by the laws of the language it is used in, so far as we know them, has very possibly been borrowed from some other after these laws had ceased working. But there is obviously a danger lest this method of avoiding difficulties may only prolong the ignorance of the real phonetic laws which has led us to adopt it, and it is perhaps a pardonable digression to enumerate a few characteristics which may justify the assumption of a borrowed word with more certainty than the mere convenience of the moment. The evidence of borrowing is External and Internal. External evidence can hardly be classified, as it includes so many different species: the direct statements of grammarians (*Minerva a Sabinis*, Varro): our knowledge of the political (e.g. *classis*[2]) or natural (e.g. *elephas*) history of the districts from and into which it was introduced: or some collocation, such as *Caesius Sabinus*, are among them. But these are of course always accidental and frequently wanting; the Internal cannot escape notice if they are present.

External evidence of borrowing.

[1] It has been pointed out to me that personal names (*cognomina*, in English the 'Christian' name) are very frequently borrowed, e.g. *Philo*, *Philippus*, *Blaesus*. In the list of words borrowed from Sabine (p. 48) we have many gentile names, which were probably introduced at a time when *nomina* were not yet distinguished sharply from *cognomina*.

[2] In point of fact I do not believe *classis* to be borrowed, but a regular *-ti-* noun formed from *clad-* (*clādes*) 'to cut.' It has survived from a very early period of the language and its concrete sense prevented its extension by *-on-* (**classio*).

Briefly they are

Internal evidence of borrowing.

(1) *Irregular phonetic form*, judged by some well established law, e.g. *rufus*.

(2) *Irregular flexion*, e.g. *pelagus* and other Gr. nouns; also *caro carnis* (contrast *hominis*).

(3) *Irregular gender*, e.g. *pelagus* neuter, *caro* feminine.

(4) *Parallelism with some word shewing the regular form and a kindred but different meaning*, e.g. *rufus ruber*.

Especially

(5) *A peculiar limitation or 'secondarisation' of meaning which seems nearly always to attend an alien word*, e.g. *caro* in Oscan 'a part', in Latin '(a portion of) meat'; *rufus* in Oscan 'red', in Latin 'red-haired'; *νοῦμμος*[1] in Syracusan Greek means a 'coin' (*Tab. Her.*), being clearly borrowed from the Oscan **numso-* = Lat. *numerus* (v. supr. § 42), in the wider signification of 'number'.

None of the examples just given affect my theory, but in the course of the following pages we shall have opportunities of applying these conditions with greater relevancy.

Evidence as to the date of Latin Rhotacism.

45. It is necessary to summarise once more the evidence for the date of the change of *s* to *r* in Latin. Some of it appears to have been misinterpreted, and one of the passages from Livy I have not seen cited before.

Appius Claudius and the letter z.

1. Brugmann lays stress on the tradition that *Appius Claudius* substituted the hooked *G* for *Z* in the Latin alphabet as shewing that the sound of the voiced sibilant had disappeared from Latin at the date of his censorship 312 B.C.

[1] *ὦμος* shews the treatment of the group *vowel* + *μ* + *σ* + *vowel* in pro-ethnic Greek. *ὦμος* : *νοῦμος* as *εἷμα* : *ἔνυμι*.

2. On the fibula which Helbig and Dümmler have recently discovered at Praeneste there occurs the word *Numasioi.* The alphabet fixes its date at not later than 500 B.C. and the other words are certainly Latin pure and simple. Cf. § 34, p. 48 supr.

Praenestine.

3. On the *Duenos Inscription*[1] which is not later than 300 B.C.,

Duenos.

a. *Z* certainly does not occur;

β. while we have the form *pacari* which as being (probably, v. infr. § 55, p. 76) an analogy form would date from the end of the rhotacising period.

4. *Cicero* (Ep. ad Fam. 9. 21) tells us that the consul of 336 B.C. was the first of his family called *Papirius* instead of *Papisius* (v. the following section). It is sometimes said that 'proper names would yield to the change later than other words' which would seem to imply that the change was *conscious,* which a real phonetic change appears never to be, though in days of the printing-press the spelling, as it remains the same, may produce a sort of retrospective consciousness. The remark seems equally superfluous if it merely means that proper names would be less frequently used than other words, seeing that the first time they were used they would be pronounced in the new fashion. It is of course quite true if applied only to the *spelling* of proper names, and perhaps this is all that Cicero or his authority could really vouch for.

Cicero.

Change in proper names.'

5. So far as I can discover by the help of Halm's index there are no passages in *Quintilian* bearing on this point[2].

Quintilian.

6. The following passages from *Livy* give us a good deal of help:

Livy.

a. 2. 30, *Valerius Volesi filius,* who was dictator in 492 B.C.

β. But the consuls for the same year are given in 2. 28 as *Aulus Verginius et T. Vetusius,* although

[1] Cf. supr. § 12, p. 16.

[2] Cf. the following section.

γ. in 2. 41 (486 B.C.) the mother of Coriolanus is throughout called *Veturia*.

δ. 3. 4 *Consules inde A. Postumius Albus et Sp. Furius Fuscus. Furios Fusios scripsere quidam. Id admoneo ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum esse quae nominum est putet.* This gives us the key to the enigma. It shews that Livy considered the form with *r* the correct one, and the spelling with *s* as a (perhaps) unexplained solecism. Hence the names of persons well known in history like *Valerius* and *Veturia* would appear in the form by which they were usually spoken of in Livy's own day, whereas *Volesus*, which had passed out of use[1] after giving rise to *Volero*, and the label of the lay figure *Vetusius* would be merely transcribed after Livy's incurious fashion[2]. Sp. Furius Fuscus was consul in 462 B.C. The plural *Fusios* shews that Livy found the form with the *s* in some of his authorities and *r* in others at this place, and chose the *r* form himself as being the prevailing one, the examples of it of course occurring at later dates. We conclude therefore that the change

(1) had certainly not taken place in 492 B.C. (*Vetusius, Volesus*);

(2) probably had not taken place in 462 B.C. if we suppose *Fusios* to represent the genuine spelling at that date. It is possible that the variation here may really go back to a variation in the usage of the Furian family itself in 462 B.C. between the traditional and the phonetic spelling. It seems rather an early date however for disputes as to orthography, and the *Papirii* must, comparatively, have been ultra-conservative to have only adopted the new spelling 130 years after the change in sound. They may not however have had occasion to spell their names so often in the Consular Fasti. On the whole it is best to regard these two dates 462 B.C. and 336 B.C. as the extreme limits in either direction. The change itself must have been complete within a very much shorter

[1] Until re-introduced from Sabine, v. supr. § 34, p. 48.

[2] Illustrated in this case by the fact that he does not mention the variation of spelling until he has committed himself in a preceding book to *both* alternatives in a similar case.

period than 130 years in so small a community as the Latins. The old date 450—350 B.C. may therefore be retained with confidence until further evidence enables us to determine its limits more narrowly.

Conclusion.

Date of the change of the Latin accent.

Proper names.

46. The last point to be discussed is by far the most important, the bearing of the evidence of rhotacism on the date of the change in the Latin accent. Has it been already pointed out that the stock passage in Quintilian (1. 5. 22) might be quoted to shew that the old accent lasted longest in proper names[1]? In a very brief notice of the subject he selects as typical solecisms the accentuation of the two names *Camillus* and *Cethegus* on the first syllable. 'Adhuc difficilior observatio est per tenores vel adcentus, quas Graeci προσῳδίας vocant cum acuta et gravis alia pro alia ponuntur ut in hoc '*Camillus*' si acuitur prima, aut gravis pro flexa, ut *Cethegus*, et hic primā acutā (nam sic media mutatur).' It may of course merely represent a natural mistake of non-Latin Italians pronouncing their adopted tongue in the same fashion as their own; but if so it is a very curious coincidence that both the examples should be proper names, which are not often quoted elsewhere as illustrations. If the view of accent-change as largely analogical be correct, it is easy to see that the old pronunciation would last longest in personal names which are a kind of personal property, it being almost as great a wrong to mispronounce a man's name as to steal his

[1] A general shifting of accent, as distinguished from the change in the few individual words in which it may have begun, does not seem, strictly speaking, to be a purely *phonetic* change, but to involve a certain proportion of arbitrary analogical influence. There is no *a priori* evidence that any one method of accentuation is intrinsically easier than another, and hence *when the accent in a particular language was changing* there must have been a certain amount of volition exercised on the part of those who first set the fashion. The contrast of classical Latin where accent has become bound by quantity with Oscan and Umbrian and late Latin where quantity has been more or less suppressed in favour of accent seems to point to the wish to pronounce syllables with the length that was felt properly to belong to them, as the motive power of the change. The steady retrogression of accent in modern English, e.g. in such words as *indisputable indisputable*, seems certainly analogical.

purse. The *ll* of the modern *Falleri* seems to indicate that in spite of its long *ē* *Falērii* was accented on the first syllable. The *r* in *Valerius Veturius Masurius Rabīrius Papīrius Etrūria Pinārius* may be due to an accent on the first syllable retained for this reason, but they are not conclusive since, as we shall see, they can all be explained quite regularly without this hypothesis.

Change of accent. Direct evidence of rhotacism.

47. In order to shew as clearly as may be the unmistakable conclusion which is forced upon us by the evidence of rhotacism if we accept the arrangement of the phenomena suggested in this essay, I have arranged in five classes all the words (1) in which the change of *s* to *r* cannot be due to the influence of *i* or *u*, and (2) in which it need not, i.e. in which it might conceivably have been caused by the absence of accent in the preceding syllable, and (3) in which *s* is retained between vowels; the inclusion of the second class of words enables us to muster all that can possibly be admitted as evidence on the question.

Method of proof.

I. Words whose form is explicable *only* on the assumption of the oldest accent.

II. Words whose form is explicable on the assumption of *either* the oldest *or* the intermediate system but *not* of the latest.

III. Words whose form is explicable on the assumption of *either* the oldest *or* the intermediate *or* the latest.

IV. Words whose form is explicable *not* on the assumption of the *oldest* but on that of *either* the *intermediate or* the latest.

V. Words whose form is explicable *not* on the assumption of the oldest *nor* of the intermediate but *only* of the latest.

By the intermediate stage of accentuation I mean that in which the accent had become bound by quantity in so far that it could not go back behind a long syllable in the penult, or if the penult was short, behind a long syllable in the antepenult, but could go back to the fourth from the end or to the initial syllable, if all that intervened between it and the last were short.

It will be seen therefore that these five classes exhaust all possible combinations of the three stages, it being remembered that any change which is governed both by the oldest and the latest systems will be equally subject to the rules of the intermediate (e.g. *foéderis*, a word whose accent was the same when Latin passed into Romance as when Italic passed into Latin); and also that any word governed by the intermediate but not by the oldest is governed also by the latest[1], and hence the (mathematically[2]) possible classes "*explicable on the oldest or the latest but not on the intermediate,*" and "*by the intermediate but not by the oldest or the latest,*" are historically impossible.

The results are as follows:—

Class I. *None.*

1. There are NO WORDS whose form is explicable only on the assumption of the oldest accent (half-a-dozen examples which might be placed here occurring also as due to the influence of a following *i* or *u*, e.g. *Pinārius*) *except* one example of an isolated form in a system in which the remaining forms were all accented on the first syllable; this would clearly be the sort of place in which the old accent would linger longest, and cannot be quoted as evidence that that accent was genuinely in force elsewhere. The example in question is the genitive plural of the first declension. *ménsārum*, older *mensārom*[3], accented on the first syllable because of *ménsa ménsam ménsād ménsaes* (?) *cet.*

Class II. 2+

2. There is one word with *r*, one with *s*, and several proper names with *r* (*gloria* from (?) **clévŏzia*, *caesaries*, *Valerius*) which may be explained on either the oldest or the intermediate but not on the latest system.

[1] Except in the (purely hypothetical) case of a word of five or more syllables ending in $-\smile\smile\asymp$.

[2] The number of alternative combinations may be represented by the formula

$$\pm A \pm B \pm C,$$

which can be expanded in eight ways. The two cases

$$A - B + C, \text{ and } -A + B - C$$

I have just explained are impossible, and $-A - B - C$ represents the class of changes in accented syllables.

[3] It is of course possible that the change of *o* to *u* in this (always) unaccented syllable was before the period of rhotacism but it is safest to dispense with so doubtful an explanation, especially as vowel degradation as a whole is rather late in Latin.

3. Counting *rus* (contracted for **rovos* orig. **revos*, cf. § 42, p. 58) *temporis foederis regere videram pulveris* once each as typical examples, there are some TWENTY-FIVE words with *r* and TWENTY with *s* which are explicable equally on all three systems. *Class* III. 45.

4. There are some SEVENTEEN words with *r* including most of the best-known examples of the change in root-syllables, and FOUR with *s*, which are not explicable on the oldest system but by either the intermediate or the latest. *Class* IV. 21 +

5. There are NO WORDS which need the supposition of the latest accent. In *caerŭleus* (older *caérŭleus*) the *u* seems certainly original (v. infr. § 60, p. 83) and it is this which has caused the change. *Class* V. *None.*

From these figures it is obvious

I. That there is no evidence that at the time when rhotacism began the oldest accent was in force.

II. That during the period the intermediate accent certainly came into force.

III. That there is no evidence that the latest system had come into force before the end of the period, and a certain amount of evidence that it had not.

This last conclusion exactly agrees with the inference drawn by Corssen from the contraction of forms like *optumus Manlius reccidi imperi*, and the degradation of the vowel of the second syllable in *benivolus malivolus malig(e)nus*, which clearly point to the retention of the first-syllable accent on words of this shape till a fairly late era. It is a natural conjecture that the final change was due to the influence of the Greek accent, supported of course by that of the great bulk of words in Latin which had a long syllable either in the penult or antepenult and therefore an accent in the same position.

The argument of course implies that the exspiratory character of the accent in Latin (and also in the other Italic dialects) had at least begun to develop at this time. We can trace a gradual development of this element in accentuation in

the history of Latin, from the mainly musical accent which probably came from the final stage of Indo-European, to the almost purely stress-accent which moulded the Romance languages. The Latin of the cultivated classes at Rome appears to have resisted this tendency with more success than any other of the descendants of pro-ethnic Italic.

48. Having thus summarised the evidence in favour of the two corollaries as to the change of accent already given, § 5, p. 6 supr., it will be legitimate as well as extremely convenient to assume them in what follows. There follow lists of words arranged under two separate methods,

(1) according to the phonetic cause of the condition in which the sound is found;

(2) in the five classes just described.

It might seem more natural to put the second first, but there is a considerable number of words where the change appears to be due to analogical influence (e.g. *mos moris* for **motis* (*metior*) *ara* etc.) which are best disposed of in connexion with the first arrangement. After the discussion here the second classification will contain only lists of words with references to preceding pages. First of all however it is desirable to give a complete list of all words bearing on the question, i.e. all those which shew *s*, or *r* representing an original *s*, between vowels in Latin, arranged according to the authorities by whom they have been collected. This section of the essay will then be concluded by removing from the list such words as have been previously given by authorities but for one reason or another appear inadmissible.

Words with r *from* s. *Corssen's list.*

49. Corssen[1] gives the following list of words in which *s* has become *r* between vowels:

Lares āra fēriae harena viarius nefarius etc. eram etc. quaero gero haurio uro sero heri nares marem aeris cruris thuris juris muris moris floris roris gliris speres (Enn.) *foederis etc. liber* (*? loebesum ?*) *temporis etc.*

[1] *Aussp.* I. 228.

laboris etc. arborem puberis pulveris etc. vires sperare prospera plurimus melioris etc. dirimere dirhibere mensārum etc. dare; Curio Aurelius Spurius Furius Valerius Pinarius Papirius Veturius Numerius; Falerii Etruria Cures.

Other authorities.

The following are added by Brugmann and others: *pāricida* (πηός) *mulieris* (*muliebris* from *-esris*) *humerus numerus*[1] *pejerare* (Osth., from *pejus* orig. **pejeris*) *pacari* (Duen. Inscr. all interpp.) *haereo queror* (*questus*) *curare cura* (Pel. *coisattens*) *vīrus* (ἰός) *soror* (Skt. *svasā*) *nurus* (νυός) *lira* (Teut. *leis-*, Germ. *geleise*) *oris gloris ruris puris telluris gloria* (? κλέος, Skt. *çravas*) *vomeris puer*(*us*) *Marcipor* (cf. *pusus pusa, pūpulus* for *pūpus-lus*) for **povesus*, the *r* of the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect indic. and the imperfect and perfect subj., and of the 2nd pers. sing. pres. ind. pass. *legere* = ἐ-λέγεσ-ο.

Further additions.

The following I think should also be added: *caerulus caeruleus* (v. infr. § 60) *glomerare tolerare* (probably from *-es-* / *-os-* stems) *acieris* (perh. a comparative like *mulier*) *arēre* (Volsc. *asif*, Umbr. *asom*) *maereo* (*maestus*), *equiria* (*equiso*), *pauper* (?) *pauperies* (?): *Masurius* (?) *Liris* (?) *Laurentum* (*Lausus*) *Aurunci* (*Ausones*) *Auruncud* (cf. § 37, p. 50 supr.) *Tibur* (?) *Ardea* (?) *Aricia* (?) *Caere* (?) *luridus* (? '*mala lustra*').

Words with s between two vowels. Roby's list.

50. Roby (I. p. 59) gives the following list of words containing *s* between vowels:

All perfects and supines in *-si* and *-sum* from stems ending in dentals. *asinus bāsium caesaries caesius casa cāseus causa cisium fusus lŏser miser nasus pusillus quasillus quaeso rosa vasa; Caesar Kaeso Lausus Piso Sisenna Sosia; Pisa Pisaurum.*

Stolz.

Stolz (*Lat. Gr.* § 60) gives *labōsus* (Lucil. Non. 8. 46) and alludes to the 'large number of gentile names in *-sius*.' *Volusius Aedesius Agrasius Calvisius* are examples.

To these we must add the following:—*rōsidus agāso equīso*

[1] Cf. § 42, p. 58 supr.

Further examples. *positus* (*posīvi posui*) *pūsula pūsio siser immusulus* (a sort of eagle, Fest. Müll. p. 112, 113. Cf. Macbeth, 'a mousing-owl') *pesestas* (Fest. Müll. 210 'pestilentia'): *Aenesi* (Fest. Müll. 20 'comites Aeneae'): *Masurius* (Pers. 5. 90): *Tusanis* (C. I. L. I. 971): *Aesola* (a town in the district of the Latini).

51. We may dismiss at once names of places situate in districts where Latin was not spoken, as *Pisa*[1], *Pisaurum*[2]. *Sisenna* too, like *Porsenna*, would seem to be an Etruscan name, and in view of the accentuation of proper names noticed above (§ 46, p. 64) it appears not to affect the argument. *bāsium cisium pūsio* (*teste* Forcellini) do not occur in Plautus though they belong to just that class of words in point of signification which is commonest in Latin comedy, and we may safely predict that they would have occurred there if they had been in use at the time. *Pūsula* too is a late word, occurring first in Seneca. *Gaesum* is a Gallic word, and *Blaesus* apparently (?) a Greek name.

Words to be eliminated: (1) *as late introductions,*

Cŭres is a name occurring in Sabine country and must contain an original *r*: it is to be distinguished from words derived from the Italic root *cois-* (*cusianes koisis coisattens*). *Spurius* is once written Σπούσιον in Dion. Hal. III. 34: but in view of the close connexion of meaning with σπείρω ('sporadic' 'bastard') and the Oscan name *Mara Spurnius* (Z. O. 82), it seems best to treat this as either a mistaken reading (which of course in the present state of the text is possible enough) or a mistaken etymology, either being due to the influence of Φούσιος *Fusius Furius* and similar cases. "*causa* from *cav-ēre*" should also be placed here (v. infr.), and *labōsus* if this is supposed to immediately represent the old stem of *labos*.

(2) *as erroneously derived,*

The chief class of exceptions are those in which *s* or *ss* of later Latin is descended from an Italic *-t-t-*. First we have adjectives in *-ōsus* which, as Osthoff has pointed out, is best derived from *-o-vont-tos* (*Impe-*

(3) *as probably not containing s at all at the*

[1] v. supr. § 19, p. 26 n.
[2] v. supr. § 19, p. 26.

riossus 414 A.U.C., *Verrucossus* 521 A.U.C. in the consular Fasti), where there was also a nasal to protect the sound from further corruption[1], which lasted on, as an element in the vowel, till quite late times. *Labōsus* clearly belongs here, whether it is for **labos-ōsus* (like *clamosus dolōsus fragōsus* and others given by Roby) or, as seems at least plausible, formed not from the stem *labos-*, but from the verb *labāre*, on the analogy of *clamare clamōsus onerare onerōsus criminare criminōsus mōratus mōrōsus dolēre dolōsus* and others. The meaning 'slippery' would give a more picturesque tinge to the two passages in Lucilius where it occurs (Non. 8. 46), '*iter labosum*,' and '*labosas Tantalu' qui poenas ob facta nefantia luvit*,' which would describe the cup slipping from his grasp.

period of rhotacism.
α. adjj. in ōsus.

The commonest case is of course that of participles and perfects in *s*. After a long vowel or consonant the *s* was written single in Quintilian's[2] time, but here in Cicero's the *ss* was kept in writing, though in pronunciation then, as afterwards, it was probably kept only after short vowels, as in *missus*, where it was always written from the time of the first introduction of double consonants[3]. If Brugmann's view of the pro-ethnic character of the change of *tt* to *ss* in Italy were correct, all participles like *fūsus* would be citable as evidence in support of the theory advocated in this essay, v. supr. § 30, p. 39 foll.

β. participles etc.

The derivation of *caussa* seems to me so obvious and certain that I can hardly believe it has not been suggested before. On inscriptions of the republic (e.g. C. I. L. I. 198, 556, and 533) the *ss* appears regular, and in the passage in Quintilian (7. 20) already alluded to (§ 51 (2) *β*. n.) it is

γ. caussa quasillus.

[1] This *n* appears not to occur in any inscription (v. Index to C. I. L. I. '*n adjecta*,' where Mommsen gives only *vicensumus* etc.), but Ribbeck reads it from the MSS. in two passages of Vergil.

[2] v. App. A. The *fere* in the passage there cited seems to me to imply that the remark applied only to the large class of words, mainly participles, in which *s* or *ss* came from *tt*.

[3] For the well-known cases of a long vowel with a single *s* where from the form of the present we should have expected a short vowel with a double *ss* (*cāsus* from *cădo*, *fūsus* from *fundo*), v. Osthoff, *Perf.* Exc. VI. p. 537.

given explicitly as one of the words which were so spelt 'Ciceronis temporibus paulumque infra.' Apart however from spelling, which is at best very unsafe evidence unless independently supported, we have the forms of the compounds *incusare, excusare,* where the weakening of *au* to *ū* shews there was no accent on that syllable, from *in-causáre, ex-causáre.* The *s* therefore we should expect to have become *r* if it had been single. These forms however betray the secret by their resemblance to *excusum incusum.* Is not *caussa* a past passive participle of an original **caudo,* to smite or cut (cf. *cauda,* 'the smiter,' *caudex,* 'the bark, or the stump or plank cut off,' also *Caudium,* the place where the valley divided or opened out into the plain)? *Res caussa* would = 'res decisa' 'res judicata,' and a glance at the article in any dictionary will shew that the forensic signification of the word is the oldest. A large number of words meaning to 'judge' mean properly to 'cut,' e.g. *κρίνω cernere decide.* The form **caudo* must have died out in this derived meaning and *cūdo* have been substituted in the literal sense from the compounds *incudo* etc., just as *spicio*[1] *miniscor* have banished **specio* **meniscor,* and *cludo* had supplanted *claudo* in all writers except Cicero at the end of the republic. It had probably only been preserved so long from the influence of *includo* etc., by such independent forms as *claustrum.* An incidental advantage of this explanation is to get rid of the irregular *ū* in the present stem of *cūdo.*

In *quăsillus* an original *ss* has been reduced by the later accent, as in *curălis* from *currus.* Gr. *κάθος* shews the root **qath.* **qath-lo-* became *quālo-* in pro-ethnic Italic or Latin, **quath-tlo-* or a diminutive **quath-tillo-* became *quassillus* in Latin[2]. The same may have happened in *Masurius,* or the *ss* which sometimes occurs in the name may be due to the wish to express the accent (§ 46, p. 65 supr.) on a short syllable (§ 27, p. 35 supr.). On the other hand there is no reason for the loss of a second *s* in *casa,* nor for supposing an original *ss* in *quaeso,* unless indeed the subjunctive meaning 'I will beg' or 'let me beg' which Brugmann supposes, be considered more

[1] Given by Br. *Gds.* § 65, Anm. 2.

[2] v. § 30, p. 39 supr.

appropriate to the parenthetic '*quaeso*' than the simple 'I beg.' Where it was used as a part of the same verb as *quaerit quaerimus cet. quarébam quaerémus cet.* the *r*, which was phonetically regular in these, forced itself into *quaero* also, but where it remained out of system as a mere rhetorical particle (cf. Engl. *prithee, please*) it kept the phonetic form proper to itself. The passage in Quintilian (1. 6. 33), even as restored by Halm ('satis est vetus *quaeso*: quid opus est *quaesito* dicere?'), seems too uncertain to be worth discussing here. The singleness of the *s* in *nāsus* is shewn by the Sanskrit *nāsa*, O. Bulg. *nosu*, Engl. *nose* cet. *Pesestas* is probably dialectic; in Latin the regular form would have been **pestas* like *clamōsus* for **clamŏsōsus*.

52. I have now only to give the list of words which constitute the evidence for and against the theory in Latin, with brief comments where they are needed. They are as follows:

1. Words in which *s* is preserved by accent (i.e. in which it occurs between two vowels after an accented syllable and is not followed by *i* or *u*, or, if so, is not preceded by *i* or *u* or a long vowel or diphthong).

2. Words in which *s* has become *r* after an unaccented syllable.

3. Words in which *s* has become *r* after an accented syllable and is not followed by *i* or *u*. These have to be explained.

4. Words in which *s* has become *r* after an accented syllable under the conditions described.

5. Words in which we have *s* between vowels after an unaccented syllable. Of these there are only four: *Pusillus asellus* (infr. § 54) *pesestas quasillus* v. supr.

B. *Evidence as to the cause of the change of* s *to* r.

1. List of words in which *s* is kept by accent.

53. *agáso*
ăsinus
cása
cáseus
caésaries (Pl. Mil. 1. 1. 64)
equíso
fúsus ('spindle')
immúsulus
láser (Pl. Rud. 3. 2. 16)
míser
násus
pŏsitus (*pósui*)
púsus
quaéso (*quaésere* Enn.)
rŏsa
rósidus
síser
vásum

Aenési
Caésar
Caésula (? Falisc.)
Kaéso
Laúsus
Másŭrius (?)
Píso
Sísenna (?)
Sŏsia

Aésola

54. The words *agáso equíso* ('stable-boy' 'jockey') like the proper names *Kaéso Píso* would be mostly used as appellatives, in the Vocative, and hence its accent would prevail over that of the oblique cases *agasónem* etc. They seem to be a genuine Latin formation.

agāso etc.

ăsinus. The anaptyptic vowel must have been earlier than 450 B.C. since **asnos* would have become **arnos*, v. § 11, p. 14 supr. The simple word has kept the *s* in *aséllus.*

caésaries, Caésar ('cum caesarie natus' Fest.) have usually been compared with the Sanskrit *kēsara* (also written *keçara*) 'hair', and is traditionally distinguished from *Kaeso* etc. ('a caeso matris utero') which had *ss* = *tt.* For the accent of *caesaries* v. supr. § 47, p. 65 foll.

fusus 'a spindle' apparently occurs first in Catullus (Forc.). Is it a past participle, or should we compare Skt. *bhush*

'to adorn, set off, arrange around'? It is perhaps necessary to remark here that at the time of the rhotacism the vowel of the terminations (*domin*)-*us* (*milit*)-*is cet.* was *ŏ*, *ĕ* not *u*, *i*.

immúsulus. Here also the -*u*(*lus*) of later Latin was certainly *o* at the time of the rhotacism. I do not know that any derivation has hitherto been given for this word. That suggested (supr. § 50, p. 70) from *mus*, is perhaps better than nothing.

positus may of course have been still regarded as a compound at the date of rhotacism. It was certainly not so regarded when *posui* was formed which however is later than Plautus. In compounds it sank to *'postus* and this by the side of the regular (*re*)-*poství*[1] appears to have given rise to (*re*)*quistvi* from **requistum* (cf. *quaestus quaestor*) which finally authorised *quaesītum*, the original flexion having doubtless been **quaessi* **quaestum* like *gessi gestum*.

púsus has kept *pusíllus* and then itself dropped out of use. It must however have been a borrowed word originally. *Pūsus* : *puer*(*us*) as Umb. *onse* : *humerus;* Osc. Νιουμσιις : *numerus; rusem* : *ruris; Fluusa* : *floris.*

quaeso. quaeséndam etc. (Enn. ap. Fest. 258) are analogy forms.

rosa. Nothing but desperation could compel an etymologist to regard this word as borrowed.

rōsidus. If this form really occurs the vowel of the second syllable was probably intermediate between *i* and *e*, and therefore not sufficient to drag back the *s* to *r* if it was not predisposed in that direction. This may be the case in *lūridus* ('mala *lustra*') where the *ū* would have a more directly rhotacistic influence than the *ō* of *rōsidus.*

siser. It seems more probable that the Greek σίσαρον is borrowed from this, than conversely, from (1) the change of declension which is more natural from the consonantal to the *o* class, (2) the change of the vowel, (3) the irregularity of the σ between vowels in Greek.

[1] The *s* in *posívi* would be kept by that of *positus*.

vāsum, the *o* stem is probably Latin, the consonantal Umbrian. We have *vāsus* abl. pl. in Umbrian, corresponding to *'*vasibus*' (*frātrus* = '*frātribus*'), while the same case in Latin is *vāsis*.

Aenēsi. The final *i* was of course *oe* or *oi* at 450 B.C.

Caesula, v. supr. § 38, p. 52.

Lausus possibly gave his name to the Latin town *Lauréntum*.

Sisenna, v. supr. § 51, p. 70.

2. Words in which *s* became *r* after an unaccented syllable.

55. *ácieris*?
aes **á(i̯)eris*
árbŏrem
ārére
Auróra **aúsŏris*
Cérĕrem
cínerem
coirére
cóngerit
cónqueritur
cónserit
crus **cré(u̯)oris*
cúcumeris
dédĕrunt
eram
flos **fló(u̯)oris*
foédĕris
fore forent
gerébat gerémus
glomerére
gloria (**glé(u̯)oria*)
haréna
haerére
honōris (**hónŏris*)
húmĕrus
-iōris (**-í(i̯)ŏris*) of the comparative
légere etc. = ἐλέγεσο
lacerére
líbĕrum?
maerére
Márciporum
múliĕrem
númerus
pacári (Duenos Inscr.) and inff. in *-āre -ēre -īre* from *-á(i̯)ĕre* etc., Umb. *staient staheren*
pejerére
próspĕrum
púbĕrem
púerum
púlvĕrem
querébar
régĕre etc.
régĕrem etc.
rus **ré(u̯)ŏris*
serébam
sirémpse
sorórem

sperâre	*vídĕro* etc. *tolerâre*
témpŏris	*vídĕrim* etc.
thus **thú(u̯)ĕris*	*vóměrem*
Aurélius	*Arícia*
Núměrius	*Aurúnca*
Másŭrius ?	*Fálērii* ?
Mércurius ?	*Lauréntum* ?
* *Rábierius* ?	*Tíburis* ?
Válĕrius	
Vétŭrius	
Vólero	

56. *acieris* may be a comparative form like *mulier*.

Aurōra like *Flōra* formed from a noun in *-ōs -ōris*.

eram forent, etc., v. supr. § 26, p. 33.

glomerāre tolerāre lacerāre are all probably formed from *-es-* stems.

gloria: if this is connected with κλέος it must owe its *g* to such collocations as *hanc gloriam, magnam gloriam* (cf. *viginti* = εἴκατι etc.).

honōris etc. It is now, I believe, generally held that the long vowel of these stems is due to the wish to distinguish them from the neuter nouns in *-ŏris* etc. This explanation is rendered a good deal easier by supposing that the change took place after that of *s* to *r* by the aid of the analogy of the masculine nouns of agency in *-tor -tōris*. The gender of *arbos* (perhaps due to its connexion with the names of trees which were all feminine) protected it from this alteration. *-ōs -ōris.*

húmerus númerus, v. supr. § 42, p. 58.

The comparative suffix has been altered in the same way as the nouns in *-ōs -ōris*.

līberum belongs to the list if *loebesum* (Fest.) is correct.

Arīcia was the site of human sacrifices. Does this connect it with *areo* ('*bim asif*' Volsc.) ?

Falērii, Mod. *Falleri*, seems to point to a first-syllable accent, v. supr. § 46, p. 65.

Aurunca. Servius (Aen. 7. 727, Georg. 2. 167) tells us that the Greeks called the *Aurunci* also *Ausones* and it is impossible that two such names so exactly alike in all but the variation of *s* and *r* (Dion. Hal. calls them Αὐρῶγκοι as well as Αὐροῦγκοι 1. 26, 6. 32) and denoting so very nearly the same people should be of distinct origin. The reason for the Latinised form of the name easily appears from their history. They belonged (Arist. 7. 9. 10, Polyb. 34. 11, Strab. 5. 4. 3[1]) to the Oscan stock and originally inhabited the part of Italy between Tyrrhenia and Oenotria, which they called *Ausonia*, a name which at a later date found its way into Latin poetry, probably from a Greek source (Ap. Rhod. 4. 553, Verg. Aen. 10. 54). The city which the *Ausones* founded in (probably hostile) Volscian territory they called *Ausonca* (contracted from **Aúsonica* just as *Marrouca* is from **Márrovica*). With this the Romans were at war as early as 505 B.C., again in 495, and 345 B.C. (Livy 2. 16. 17; 5. 26. 27; 7. 28) so that they were familiar with the name before and during the rhotacising period. We only know of it through Latin sources, and therefore in the Latin form, as we should expect, seeing that *the city was destroyed by the Sidicini in* 336 B.C. The generic name *Ausones* which was later (Plin. 3. 9. 4, Livy 8. 15. 16; 9. 25) applied to the inhabitants of Cales, Minturnae and Vescia, represents the local name which still survived and has lasted down to modern times in the little river *Ausente* near the site of Minturnae.

If the coin *Auruncud* really dates from before the destruction of the town in 336 B.C. we might suppose that it proved that the Ausones in Aurunca shared the Latin accent and rhotacism, but even then it would be much more probably explained as due to Latin influence. I have been unable to find any facsimile of this coin to ascertain the genuineness of the *R*.

[1] The references in this note come from De Vit's *Onomasticon*.

3. *r* from *s* in accented syllables.

57. The following words shew *r* after an accented syllable without any following *i* or *u*:

āra	(*ōs*)	*ōris* etc.
aurum	(*glōs*)	*glōris*
cūra	(*mōs*)	*mōris* (for **mōtis*)
līra	(*rōs*)	*rōris*
plūrimus	(*pūs*)	*pūris* (for **putis*)
vīrus		*heri* (χθές)
eram ero cet.	(*mas*)	*marem*
fore, forent cet.		*Lares*
		dare

58. *āra*, v. p. 22, § 18 supr. where it is explained as due to the influence of *ārére* etc., on the strength of a passage from Varro.

aurum would be a much less common word among the Latin peasantry than *Auróra*, and the picturesque connexion between the two is one which was sure to be kept up. Varro again (7. 83) gives us direct evidence of the popular feeling.

cūra, old Lat. *coira*, would be naturally governed by the form of *curáre* etc. which was in most constant use (cf. Eng. '*do*'), while *cura* would be as comparatively infrequent as the Eng. *deed*.

lira, I.-Eu. **loi̯sa*. To explain the *ī* instead of the regular *ū* I believe recourse is generally had to the influence of the compounded forms *délīrus* (in the oldest stage) *délīrāre*, *dēlīráre*. The same cause would explain the *r*.

plurimus (*ploirome* old Lat.) is of course formed from *pluris* or its preceding forms, ultimately a trisyllabic *pléŏris* = Gr. πλέους (from πλε(ι̯)ο(σ)ος).

vīrus neut. as compared with its cognate Gr. ἰός offers a peculiarity both of meaning and gender. ἰὸς πόντου as a poetical phrase for 'salt' would strike us as an absur-

dity, but Lucretius speaks of '*taetri primordia viri*' in this sense, where, as in similar phrases, the meaning is obviously helped out if not provided by the proximity of *vires*, so that the root-meaning of the word was taken to be 'strength, essential potency,' and the analogy of *vis vires* would have converted **vīsus* into *vīrus*. This suggests also a possible explanation of the gender. By the side of this apparent derivative denoting a concrete thing, 'essence, poisonous essence,' stood a real derivative denoting a person, namely *vir* 'a man,' whose oblique cases only differ from those of *vīrus* in the quantity of the *ī*. Accordingly *vīrus* was treated as a neuter noun to mark its impersonality, perhaps on the analogy of *vulgus*, if that was already in existence.

These five words (*āra aurum cūra līra vīrus*) are the only serious exceptions as the rest (v. infr.) are either due to sentence accent (*eram*) or parts of a grammatical system (*dare*). Nevertheless their number is disquieting, however possible each of the explanations just suggested may be singly. In *aurum cura līra* the first syllable originally consisted of a diphthong whose second member is *i* or *u*, and it would be possible to suppose that in old Latin the two elements had not completely coalesced, so that the words would be virtually trisyllables with the accent on the first, *á-u-rum có-i-ra ló-i-ra*, and we might erect this into a special class of changes ('*all dissyllables beginning with an* i *or* u *diphthong*') at the expense only of adopting Brugmann's explanation of *quaeso* and regarding *Lausus*[1] as Sabine (v. the list supr. § 53, p. 74). *Lira* however would still owe its *ī* to *delirus* and *āra* and *vīrus* would be left. Or again should we suppose them to contain the suffix *-ro-* affixed to the *s* of the root in Latin, not in Italic? On the whole the probability seems to me decidedly to rest with the separate explanations of these words and the single explanation of the other evidence already suggested and given in § 5 as one of the conclusions of this essay.

[1] This would not affect the Umbrian; cf. § 42, p. 58 (*Flusor Flora rusem ruris*).

oris moris followed the analogy of *flōs flōris* (v. § 42, p. 58 supr.) *labōs labōris* etc. and these with the words which became monosyllables on contraction (*rūs thūs aes plus crus* (?)) together with those in which the *r* was regular as preceding the *i* of the stem and following an *i* or *u* or long vowel (*glis glirium* etc. *mus muris* (Skt. *muṣika*) *jus juris*) established the rule for monosyllables whose nominative ended in *s*, unless there were some neighbouring word to protect them (as *cos, cotis, cautes*). The form *speres* quoted from Ennius is an example of this influence, further helped by *sperâre*.

heri is the locative (cf. *temperi*) of an old Latin* *hes*.

Lares : *Lases* : *Lar* : **las* exactly as
mares : *mas* and
arborem : *arbosem* : *arbor* : *arbos*,

the old nominative **las* being lost the sooner because the word was generally used in the plural.

dare may have been influenced by the compounds *prôdere dédere* cet. as well as by the regular *-re*.

fore forent have been discussed § 26, p. 33 n. supr.

4. List of words in which the change appears to be due to *i* and *u*.

59. *a.* Words where *s* has become *r* after an accented syllable between *i* and *i*:

vírium etc.	*sérit* (**sisit*)	*Paptrius*
glírium etc.	*gérit* (**gisit*)	*Rabtrius*
equtria	*quéritur* (**quisitur*)	(? for **Rábierius*)
Líris (?)	*dírimit*	
	dírhibet.	

With *equīria* contrast *equtso*.

For *gerit* etc. v. supr. § 42, p. 57. They would be also influenced by *cóngerit etc.* The second *i* of *dirimit dirhibet* stands on a level with that of *rōsidus lūridus* § 54, p. 75 supr. The words would be also influenced by *dirimébat dirhibére* cet.

Papīrius. As to the accent of proper names v. § 46, p. 64 supr. For the exceptions *Calvisius* etc. (Sabine names) v. § 34, p. 48 supr.

β. Where *s* has become *r* after an accented syllable between *u* and *u*.

núrus gen. *nurūs.* Gr. *νυός*, Skt. *snuṣa.*

γ. Where *s* has become *r* after an accented syllable between *u* and *i*.

júri etc.	*Cūrio*
tellúri etc.	*Etrūria*
múri etc.	*Fūrius*
haúrit etc.	*Spŭrius* (?) v. § 51, p. 70 supr.
(e)úrit etc.	*haurit urit* would be also in-
lūridus v. supr. § 54, p. 75.	fluenced by *urébat* etc.

60. δ. Words in which *s* has become *r* after a long accented syllable before *i* or *u*.

fériae (*fēriári*)	*Caérites* (?)
náris (Skt. *nāsi-ka*)	*Falérii* } (v. supr. § 46,
nefárius	*Pinárius* } p. 64)
pāricída[1]	
quaérit (v. supr. § 51, p. 73)	*caéruleus*
	caérulus
viárius	

and some others where the long vowel is *ī* or *ū*, which have already appeared under (*a*) or (γ).

caerulus is the only word which needs comment. Brugmann derives it from *caelum* by dissimilation of the first *l*, which is of course possible enough, and we may in that case dismiss the word. But the constant conjunction '*caerula caeli*'[2] would be rather meaningless, and the parallelism of *ruber* 'red', *rufus* 'red-haired', *caerulus* 'blue', *caesius* 'blue-eyed' (*caesia*

[1] The first syllable of *pāricída* can hardly be called unaccented in the same sense as that of *sorórem.* In such polysyllables we have evidence in Romance that a bye accent was kept on the first syllable.

[2] If in spite of this there *is* a connexion between the words it seems more likely to be that *caelum* is for **caeslum.*

virgo = 'Minerva' ('a Sabinis')) seems to connect it with the clearly[1] borrowed word *caesius*. On the latest system of accentuation, which was probably fairly established by 200 B.C., the accent on *caeruleus* (which we find in Ennius side by side with *caerulus*) would be on the third syllable from the end and this would therefore have been preserved from sinking to *u* if it had been an original *o*, since the change from *u* to *o* before *l* in unaccented syllables took place quite late, as is evidenced by the frequent variation in spelling, e.g. *Aesola Aesula*, and therefore after the final change of accent. It may be thought that the *u* of *caérulus* had influenced *caerúleus*, but the influence is more likely to have been the other way. It is usual to find the older form preserved in such cases. In *caesi-us caeru-lus* may we not see an example of the common parallelism of *ĭ* and *ŭ* stems in the same or different languages? The *ŭ* stems in Latin have all disappeared in various ways (e.g. *suāvis vacuus*), but traces of them are left in words in *-lo-* and *-ro-* e.g. *anguis: angu-lus, inula: Castrum Inui* (cf. Μαραθών), *oculus:* ὠκύς, *ungula: ungu-is vidulus: viduus*, also *ancŏra* (orig. **ancŭra;* does the change of *ŭ* to *ŏ* before *r* point to an original *s*, **ancus*, **ancoris*? v. supr. § 42, p. 57): *ἀγκῦρα* (for **ἀγκῦρ-ια*). For the formation cf. *ἀγκύλος δα(σ)υλὸς καμπύλος*. The *ū* stems like *tribus* (*tribūlis*) are of course distinct.

There are a few words in Festus about which nothing is known and which may very well be Sabine like *fasena: murgisonem* 'a mora et decisione' (!) (perhaps to be placed with *equiso* supr. § 54, p. 74) *adasia* 'ovis vetula recentis partus'.

C. *Evidence as to the change of accent.*

61. Since all the words in this list have occurred before and have been fully discussed it seems unnecessary to add references, since they can be at once ascertained on reference to the index accompanying the essay, which has been con-

[1] v. supr. § 44, p. 60.

structed for me with great kindness by one or two friends. A query denotes that the word had probably not reached the form in which it appears in the list (in other respects than the change of *s* to *r*) before the beginning of the period of rhotacism, e.g. *pacāri ?* which before 450 B.C. was probably **pacáiĕsi.* For the method of arrangement v. § 47 supr. pp. 65—68.

1. Words in which *s* which became *r* follows a syllable which was unaccented only on the oldest system of accentuation.

lábōris? etc.
pléōris? etc.
pácāri? etc.
téllūris? etc.
ménsārum etc.

The proper names *Rabīrius? Papīrius? Etrūria? Pínārius? Fálērii* etc., stand on a different footing.

2. Words explicable either by the oldest or by the intermediate but not by the latest system of accentuation.

Words with r. *a.* **glé(u̯)ŏria ; Válerius Véturius* cet.

Words with s. *β.* *caésaries Másurius.*

3. Words explicable either by the oldest or by the intermediate or by the latest system. An accent in ( ) denotes one probably not prevailing at the time of rhotacism.

Words with r. *a.* *aes* (*flos crus rus thus*) *á(i̯)ĕris*

foéderis etc.	*árborem*	*prósperum lítberum*(?)
témporis etc.	*dédĕrunt* etc.	*cónserit cóngerit*
régere etc.	*légere* etc. (=ἐλέγεσο)	*pró-dere*
régerem etc.	*p(')éjerére t(')ólerére*	*Vólĕro*
púlveris etc.	*l(')ácerére*	*Tíbŭris?*
vídero etc.	*múl(')erem ác(')eris*	
cérerem	*húmerus númerus*	
púberes	*púerum Márc(')porum* (for *-pu̯erum*).	

Words with s. *β.*

ásinus	*pósitus*	*Caésar*
cása	*pásus*	*Kaéso*
cáseus	*quaéso*	*Laúsus*

fúsus	*rŏ́sa*	*Píso*
lŭ́ser	*rósidus*	*Sŏ́sia*
násus	*síser*	*Aésola*
míser	*vásum*	

4. Words explicable not by the oldest but by either the intermediate or the latest system.

a.	*haréna*	*Aurélius*	*Words with* r.
	Auróra	*Aurúnca*	
	soróris	*Arícia*	
	arére haerére maerére	*Lauréntum*	
	coirére sperére haurére		
	gerébam serébam querébar		
	sirémpse.		
β.	*agáso*	*immúsulus*	*Words with* s.
	equíso	*Aenési.*	

5. Words explicable only by the latest system of accentuation. *caerúleus* ?

APPENDIX.

A. S *between vowels in Classical Latin and Romance.*

State of the question.

62. SOME amount of doubt still appears to rest on the question of the pronunciation of *s* between vowels (*rosa casus*) in Latin of the classical period. Corssen asserted, on the ground of the Italian pronunciation, that in this position the *s* was voiced. This view Mr Roby rejected (*Lat. Gr.* Vol. I. Pref. xlix), asking for a more precise investigation of the facts in the Romance languages. So far as I know this task has been hitherto left unattempted, though the difficulty it involves is merely that of comparing data which have already been carefully collected. Little apology therefore is needed for reopening the question in the light of our present information, especially when its solution appears to lie on the surface of the evidence. An examination of the whole of the somewhat complex details of the history of *s* between vowels in Romance can, I think, lead us to only one conclusion, that *s* was never anything but a breathed sound in Latin till quite late times, certainly long after Quintilian. The same conclusion is supported by what we can infer from Latin itself of the usual pronunciation of *s* medially, e.g. from its effect on preceding consonants (*apstineo lapsum cet.*), as has been long ago pointed out. Before however proceeding to deal categorically with '*s* between vowels in Italian, Spanish, etc.' the evidence of its history in Latin proper needs some slight comment, and that is practically confined to the often-quoted passage in Quintilian (1. 7. 20), which appears to have been frequently misunderstood.

63. 'Quid quod Ciceronis temporibus paulunque infra, *fere* quotiens *s* littera media vocalium longarum vel subiecta longis esset, geminabatur? ut "caussae," "cassus," "divissiones": quomodo et ipsum et Vergilium quoque scripsisse manus eorum docent. Atqui paulum superiores etiam illud, quod nos gemina dicimus "iussi," una dixerunt.'

Quintilian.

The bearing of this remark has, I think, been missed through neglect of the important modification *fere* and the general drift of the context. The chapter in which the passage occurs deals with orthography as specifically distinguished from pronunciation. 7. *init.* 'Nunc, quoniam *diximus quae sit loquendi regula,* dicendum quae scribentibus custodienda, quod Graeci *ὀρθογραφίαν* vocant, nos recte scribendi scientiam nominemus.' The writer is throughout concerned with differences of spelling not, as he understood them, based on any difference in pronunciation, e.g. the man who wrote *malus* ('apple-tree') without the apex pronounced it in just the same way as those who wrote *mālus.* He deals first (§ 2—10) with divergences caused by the desire to spell etymologically, as *exspecto, obtineo,* pronounced *expecto, optineo,* generally allowing the etymological spelling where it served to distinguish two words whose sound was the same; then (§ 11—29) he discusses variations from the modern spelling due to adherence to custom, for example, criticising adversely ('supervacuum') Lucilius' spelling of the nom. plur. of the second declension and of the dative sing. of the third with *ei, puerei, furei,* on the ground that *i* can denote both the long and the short sound. This shews that he regarded the difference merely as one of spelling, as indeed it had clearly become, since the spelling *ei* has no etymological connexion with the original *oi oe* of the nom. plur. Similarly he quotes the modern spelling *here* as opposed to the ancient *heri,* while in 1. 4. 8 he says the sound is neither *e* nor *i* but intermediate. And in all the rest of the examples he gives, it is to be observed that he is speaking not of any change of sound, but merely of the divergence between the modern and an archaizing spelling, nor does he here discuss the latter from an etymological point of view, though he is aware that at least

His evidence on the pronunciation of s,

some of the variations, e.g. the *d* of the ablative, should be so explained. Now if the single *s* between vowels had been voiced in his time it would have had an entirely different sound from *ss*, which is always breathed even in Romance, and he would certainly have alleged this as an argument in favour of the spelling with a single *s* where the sound was voiced. He in fact concludes the chapter by expressly recommending the phonetic as opposed to the historical spelling.

in a particular class of words.

It will be agreed then that in the words of which Quintilian is speaking, the *s*, written single in his time and double in Cicero's, was certainly a breathed sound. It only remains to ask, Which are they? 'fere *quotiens* s *littera media vocalium longarum vel subiecta longis esset geminabatur, ut* caussae cassus divissiones.' These three words all happen to be nouns and this accident has obscured what seems to me the real meaning of the statement, namely, that in Cicero's time the *ss* was regularly written in all past participles (and their derivatives) whose first syllable ended in *s* preceded by a long vowel, i.e. the participles of long vowel-stems ending in dentals. Of course the *ss* was always written after short vowels, in *missus etc.* both in early and late times, and there was no variation of spelling to comment on: that only occurred after long vowels, and there *only in participles and their derivatives,* e.g. *caseus* was never written with *ss: hence the modification* fere. The participles would form far the largest class of words of this form. But *caussae?* That is a participial form too if the derivation from **caudo* suggested in § 51 supr. p. 72, be correct.

Origin of the Ciceronian spelling.

Why then was the *ss* kept in these words in spelling so late as the last century of the republic when, as Osthoff[1] has shewn, the sound must soon have become single after a long vowel? The simplest answer seems to be that the *ss* itself was of no great antiquity in this position: of course *pătior: păssus* etc. would help to keep *rādo: rāssus* etc., but a spelling that sunk out of use between Cicero and Quintilian could not have been maintained, one would think, by purely artificial considerations over a space of

[1] *Perf.* Exc. VI.

very many years before Cicero, when education was confined to a far narrower circle than during and after the Augustan period. We have then good reason for supposing that the change of *tt* by which *ss* came to stand in this position could not have been complete much before the introduction of double letters of which Quintilian also speaks. This first appears in the decree of Aem. Paulus 189 B.C. and became generally prevalent about 135—115 B.C. (Stolz, *Lat. Gr.* Init.). From the earliest times the sound of *ss* where it occurred after long vowels may have been less full than after short, since we find it written single here on the inscription just mentioned in the pluperfect subjunctive and the perfect infinitive. This does not however affect our question since the *s* or *ss* here in all probability had nothing to do with *tt* and may have been (1) reduced to a single *s* before the other *ss* was first pronounced, and (2) only written *ss* afterwards on the pattern of *esse essem.* We conclude therefore that *the Ciceronian spelling of the participles with* ss *is a trace of the comparatively late change of* tt *to* ss *in this position, though one that might hardly have survived but for the influence of the forms with* ss *after short vowels like* missus *where the sound survived as well as the writing.* *Conclusion.*

64. Before leaving the Latin evidence, perhaps some comment is needed on the *ss* in the Plautine words *malacissare batissare cet.*, where it is commonly taken as representing the (Campanian or Sicilian sound of the) Greek ζ. In view of the Romance evidence as to the invariably breathed character of the *ss*, no one now supposes that it denoted a voiced sound in any but these words, and (1) even here it seems still uncertain whether it does represent ζ and not σσ, while (2) before the introduction of *z* in Cicero's time it is difficult to see how otherwise the sound could have been transliterated. The descendant of the original Gr. ζ = σδ must have had a much thicker and heavier sound than the single Roman *s*, and there was no character in the Latin alphabet to represent the voiced sound. *ss* = ζ?

65. The facts of the representation of Latin *s* or *ss* between vowels in the Romance languages appear to be as follows: *Latin* s *in Romance.*

Spanish.

SPANISH. (Diez, *Gr. der Rom. Spr.*[4] I. p. 363.) Latin *s* = *s*, *z*, *ç*. *s* in Spanish is always breathed and represents not only Latin *s*, (*rosa deciso*) but *x ns rs ansio anxius, mesa mensa, oso ursus.*

z has a difficult sound which Diez compares to the Eng. *ths* as in *deaths*, but appears to be always breathed. It has many different origins (*ti di ce ci st sc j*), and apparently represents Latin *s* between vowels in only a few words (*rozar*) though it frequently appears initially (*zugar*), especially before *i* and *e* (*zinfonia*).

ç is of course breathed and represents *s* only before *i* and *e*, *decir desidere, acechar assectari.*

Examples of Latin *s* kept in Spanish as a breathed sound are

	puse positus	*deciso decisus*
	raso-jo rasus	*incluso inclusus*
	ceso-je caesus	*cōsa* } *causa*
O. Sp.	*riso risus*	*causa* } *causa*

Portuguese, Provençal, French.

In PORTUGUESE (Diez, 1. 384) Latin *s* between vowels of whatever origin always becomes voiced, except in words borrowed from Spanish, which kept the breathed sound, e.g. *queiso* = Sp. *queso*, Lat. *caseus.* In FRENCH also every *s* between vowels is voiced (Diez, 1. 433) except where it is the initial of the second half of a compound, *désuétude vraisemblance.* In PROVENÇAL (Diez, 1. 404) it is voiced and frequently exchanged with *z*. In some MSS we have occasionally *ss* not merely to represent Latin *ss* (*fossa*) but also *s* in a few words. This may shew a local persistence of the breathed sound, but is probably only a freak of orthography.

Wallachian.

In WALLACHIAN however (Diez, 1. 430) *s* is always breathed but is frequently replaced by *s'* (Eng. *sh*), especially before *i*. *z* rarely appears, except sometimes initially.

Summary.

Putting aside the Italian changes, which are too involved to be much use as evidence on one side or the other, we find that in two out of five languages we have a sibilant between vowels remaining or becoming a

breathed sound, and in the other three becoming or remaining voiced. The change from a breathed to a voiced fricative in vocal surroundings is natural, easy, and of frequent occurrence in almost any language, whereas that from a voiced to a breathed in this position is unnatural and unparalleled. There can therefore be no possible doubt as to which of the two was the parent of the other. The evidence of Spanish and Wallachian alone abundantly proves that *Latin* s *between vowels was always breathed*, and as we have already seen, all the evidence we can get from Latin itself leads us to exactly the same conclusion. Typical examples are—

Lat. *causa* = Span. *causa*, Wal. *cause*,
Lat. (late) **rōsa* = Span. *rōsa*, Wal. *rus'e*,
Lat. *casa* = Span. *casa*, Wal. *case*,
Lat. *caseus* = Span. *queso*, Port. *queiso*, It. *cascio*,

in all of which Latin *s* is represented by a breathed sound. These prove the genuine *phonetic* character of the representation, since they cannot have been affected by the participles in *-lso- -rso- -xo- -pso-* etc. which, it might have been suggested, had kept the breathed sound in the participles in *-so* after vowels.

It now only remains for us to discuss the changes of the sound in Italian.

66. The rules for the pronunciation of *s* between vowels in Italian are as follows (Diez, 1. 347—8. Dr H. Vockeradt, *Lehrbuch der It. Spr.* Berlin, 1878, pp. 8, 9): *Italian.*

s between vowels in Italian is always voiced except

1. in adjectives ending in *-oso*[1], *glorioso bellicoso* and their derivatives in *-osia -osita*;
2. in the verbal endings *-si -se -sero -so* when preceded by *e*, and substantives in *-esa* derived from these;
3. in words beginning with *mis- dis- es- tras-* when the

[1] Fernow held that the *s* is voiced where the termination is preceded by a consonant, as in *ontoso*. This apparently arbitrary restriction is unknown to Dr Vockeradt, and only quoted by Diez in passing.

second half of the compound begins with a vowel, and compounds of words beginning with *s* with prefixes ending in vowels; and

4. in *cosa roso riso.*

The third class we may dismiss from further consideration, the pronunciation of the *s* being simply determined by its sound as an initial or final when the words are uncompounded.

Origin of the distinction.

The other rules point clearly to the influence of analogy or other arbitrary change. It may safely be asserted that no phonetic cause could have separated *riso* and *roso* from the mass of other past participles with a voiced *s* between vowels in which it has exactly the same origin, Latin *s*←—*ss*←—*tt*. The verbal forms in *-eso etc.*, it is true, have a breathed *s*, but they have no claim to be regarded as anything but an accidental class, *acceso* from *accensus, difeso* from *defensus, peso* from *pensus, teso* from *tensus,* but also *leso* from *laesus, crese* (Dante, *Pg.* 32. 32) from **crēsus.* It seems clear that the reason for the breathed *s* is to be found in the nasal which originally preceded it in the majority of the forms, as in the adjectives in *-ōso* orig. *-onso-*, though here the *n* was only rarely written in Latin, there being no parallel forms to preserve it in the spelling as there was e.g. in *accendere* : *accensus.* Nevertheless it does occur in MSS, e.g. Verg. Ecl. 1. 5, Publ. Syr. 169, which shews that the nasal colour of the vowel was kept into quite late times. The change of a breathed to a voiced *s* between vowels must have taken place before this was lost. Afterwards *leso crese reso* and any others there may be of this form (which altogether would be a far smaller number than those which originally ended in *-ensus*) came over to the breathed pronunciation[1].

[1] The *n* of the French *rendre*, Ital. *rendere*, Port. *render*, seems clearly due to the parallelism of the (late) Latin past participle **rēsus*, itself only a popular coinage. After the breathed sound had been restored by the influence of the other participles in *-ēso* the proportion *rēsus* : *tēsus* gave *rendere* : *tendere* in place of *reddere*, whether this took place separately in Italian, French and Portuguese, or as seems probable on common ground. In the languages in which all the participles kept the breathed *s* the connexion would not be so close between the forms in *-ēso* and the nasal presents. Hence, as we should expect, the old Spanish form (Catalonian) is *retre*, and Provençal, in which the *s*

Probably however in course of time the forms in *-ēso* would have yielded to the influence of the others in *-āso -ōso -ūso* all with voiced *s* as *rimāso* (*remansus*) *spāso* (*expansus*) apparently have done, but for such forms as *misso fesso arso corso flusso ripulso avolso*, in all of which *-so* was breathed. These with the forms in *-ēso* seem to have created the feeling that in participles the *s* might be either breathed or voiced without any clear reason for the distinction. Hence the breathed sound was restored *where it was useful to avoid confusion with words of different origin; rōso* 'bitten', was by this means distinguished from [1]*rōsa* 'a rose', and *riso* 'a smile' from *riso* 'rice' an Arabic word. *Cōsa* naturally felt the influence of the numerous adjectival forms in *-ōso -ōsa* to which it would seem more akin than to participles, of which there are very few if any in *-ōso*.

This account of the breathed *s* in such cases as due to an analogical and comparatively modern readjustment of pronunciation receives a curiously exact confirmation from a passage in an old Piedmontese grammar (Pipino[2], pub. 1783). He states (p. 12) that the sound of *s* between vowels in Piedmontese is "soft like *s* in the Italian words *cosa roso rosa naso Piedmontese Marchese.*" This shews that in Pipino's time the later rule for the pronunciation of *cosa* and *roso* in a different way from *rōsa nāso* had at all events not become common in the Court circle in which he moved, but all four still kept their natural sound. So that there are no real exceptions to the rule that '*Latin* s *between vowels became voiced in Italian as in French, Provençal and Portuguese*[3], *but remained breathed in Spanish and Wallachian.*' *Conclusion.*

appears to have longer remained breathed, *redre*. The later Spanish *rendir* is due to Portuguese influence, as seems proved by the form *renta*, which would have become *renda* if derived from a Latin form with *t*.

[1] Note that in late Latin the *ŏ* of *rŏsa* appears to have been lengthened, on the analogy perhaps of *rōs rōris*.

[2] Camb. University Libr. Aa. 21. 34.

[3] The four dialects most exposed to Celtic influence, as has been pointed out, I think, by Seelmann.

B. *Final* S *in Aryan and the change of* S *to* R *in Sanskrit.*

67. The difficulties attached to the history of the sibilants in the Aryan languages have attracted little discussion of late. Bloomfield's attack on the traditional explanations of the changes of final *s* (*Am. Journal of Philology,* 1882) was answered by Osthoff in his *History of the Perfect;* but since then no new attempt has been made to face the problem, though it still presents many difficulties. In the *Grundriss* (§ 556. 3) Brugmann doubtfully repeats Osthoff's explanation ('nicht unwahrscheinlich'). I trust it will not be thought impertinent to approach the question once more with a slightly clearer view of the phonetic aspect of the changes involved, and in the hope not of producing any new and elaborate scheme, but merely of reconciling what is most probable in the accounts of both authorities. It is clearly necessary to begin by stating briefly what arguments have been advanced on either side.

Bloomfield.

68. Bloomfield begins by giving examples of Sanskrit *ē* or *ō* medially resulting from the loss of *s* after an original I.-Eu. *e* or *o*, where he holds that the Sanskrit sound is and has always been strictly non-diphthongal. *sēdus* = Lat. *sēdi*, *ēdhi* = Gr. *ἴσθι*, *dēhi* and *dhēhi*, Zend *dazdi*, *nēdīyas*, Zend *nazdyō*, *mēdha*, Zend *mazda*. He compares further the loss of the sibilant in *sīdati*, Zend *hīdhaiti*, and in Skt. *mīḍha nīḍa tiḍa ūḍha dūḍhabha cet.* The Vedic nom. sing. *avayās* from the stem *avayāj*, he explains as formed on the analogy of the instr. pl. in *-ōbhis* from original *-ożbhis*. The *ō* in *ṣōḍaça vōḍhar* is *ē* labialised by the preceding *v*, lost in *ṣaṣ* but kept in Zend *kṣvas*, Gr. σϝέξ, Arm. *vez*. *Sōḍhar* from *sah* has followed *voḍhar* from *vah*. On the strength of these examples he concludes that the *ō* in e.g. *açvō dravati* is non-diphthongal and goes back directly to the final *-os* of I.-Eu. **ekuos* lengthened by compensation on the loss of the *s* before the voiced consonant. Similarly an Aryan *ē* resulted from final *-es* before voiced consonants. When *ĕ* and *ŏ* had both sunk to *ă* and *-ĕs* and *-ŏs* before breathed consonants to *-ăs* the

variants *ē* and *ō* seemed anomalous, and in nearly all dialects the *ō* conquered, as it naturally would, since it occurred in an enormously preponderating majority of cases, in Zend, where it banished *as* except before enclitics, in Sanskrit, Pāli and most Prākrit dialects; but in some of the latter the *ē* was chosen, where it represents Sanskrit *-as* in all cases, without respect to the character of the following sound. The Vedic *ahar udhar uṣar*, are different stems independent of *ahas etc.* and the one or two rare examples of *ar* elsewhere for *-as* as *bhimar* are arbitrary imitations of this apparent analogy. He concludes that *ē* and *ō* both existed separate from *ā* at the latest period of pro-ethnic Aryan, and finds a further example in the Zend instr. and dat. pl. of *-as* stems, *raōcēbish*, *raōcēbyō*, I.-Eu. **leu̯kesbhis*, Zend *ē* being regularly the long form of *ĕ*=Skt. *ă*, e.g. Gāth. *ēmavānt*=Skt. *amavant* with secondary lengthening of the first syllable. Similarly we have occasionally *manē vacē* for *manō vacō*, which seem to shew the original sound[1] still resisting the levelling tendency. In Sanskrit *manō-bhis etc.*, shew the victory of the analogical or 'inferential' *ō* extending from external to internal combination. Bloomfield then finally deals with the scansion of *ō* and *ē* in Veda. He proves by almost exhaustive statistics that they are certainly treated as short syllables before vowels, but since he holds they were non-diphthongal cannot accept the native explanation of the loss of the final *u̯* and *i̯*, "*ŏ* and *ĕ* were the real sounds here represented by the symbols (ओ ए); before other vowels they gave up their qualitative difference and were represented by *ă* (अ) but before *ā* itself *the signs for the long vowels and diphthongs were resorted to, making possible the retention of the quality or colour of the vowels in writing,*" the short quantity being traditionally retained in the metre.

The theory thus briefly sketched, whether right or wrong, may be said to mark an epoch in Aryan phonology. The resemblance between Sanskrit and Zend final *-ō* and the common Indo-European termination *-os* when once pointed out by authority is altogether too striking to be left on one

[1] *ō* would of course be regular in the nom. sing. (*μένος*) but the *ē* would come from *-ēbis* etc. at a time when *ē* and *ŏ* alternated.

side. It must either be accepted and welcomed as an extremely important addition to our knowledge of the history of the vowels[1], or fully and finally refuted, and any refutation, to be satisfactory, must substitute a clearer account of the phenomena than we have so far attained. It seems almost self-evident from a common-sense point of view that there is *a priori* far too strong a probability in favour of Bloomfield's theory for it to be summarily put aside simply because we find there may be other explanations of the phenomena that are equally possible and do not involve a greater amount of difficulty. There is such a thing, surely, as weight of evidence, as well as mere numerical preponderance of the arguments advanced; and while we cannot allow any theory, however plausible, to override Phonetic Laws that are well-known and fully established, it is clearly unscientific to overlook the possibility that some of our minor deductions from these may possess far less authority than the Laws themselves. We may be led by adherence to ascertained principles to explain some small number of forms in a particular language in one and only one way, involving the rejection of a theory which deals plausibly with large masses of facts, and in any case we can hardly be too careful in keeping such difficulties in view; but we ought to be quite certain that it is a principle and not a prejudice at stake. The particular forms are on their trial, quite as much as the theory.

Defects of his theory.

69. Having said thus much on the general issue we are free and bound to notice the weaknesses in Bloomfield's position. In the first chapter of the Perfect Osthoff deals with most of them in detail. Briefly they seem to be two, neglect of chronology, and the (apparently unnecessary) assertion of the non-diphthongal character of the Sanskrit *ē* and *ō* where they come from final *-es -os*. Through the first omission he has passed by in silence the very serious difficulty of the Zend forms in *-az* corresponding to the Sanskrit *ē*. Was the loss of the *s* completed before or after Zend and Sanskrit

[1] And in the same direction as we are led by all recent investigations, e.g. by the recognition of the *e*-colouring of the reduplicating vowel in the perfect.

parted company? If afterwards, as Osthoff points out, we are left to suppose that the change of *ĕ* and *ŏ* to *ă* took place in Zend and Sanskrit separately, which is clearly improbable; if before, where does the *z* come from in *mazda- nazdishtha- dazdi*, which Bloomfield himself quotes? These forms at least need to be explained, as well as[1] *myazda hazdyāt*. The second defect is equally serious. Why need it be assumed that *ē* and *ō* derived from *es os* are pure monophthongs? It is at least quite conceivable that *o* and *e* should be diphthongised instead of merely lengthened in compensation for a lost consonant. In modern English we have hardly any pure monophthongal long vowels. Bloomfield's view at all events brings us into very serious difficulties. In the first place there is the question of the short quantity of *ē* and *ō* in Veda. The explanation I have quoted verbatim from Bloomfield seems at least very obscure, especially the words in italics (§ 68, supra p. 95). How can the "possibility" of expressing a particular sound "in writing" under certain circumstances preserve the quality of the sound in speech in those circumstances and those only? And for what conceivable reason did the Hindoo grammarians insist on writing *ō* before *ă* but *ă* before *ā ĭ ŭ ē* and *ō* to denote exactly the same sound? On the other hand the native theory of the loss of the second component of the diphthong (*i̯, u̯*) has many analogies; not merely in this very group of languages, the locatives Zend *zastay-ā* O. Pers. *dastay-ā* (where of course the *i* is original) but in the Greek final *αι οι*, whose short quantity in scansion and accent is simply due to the loss of *i̯*. Again if Sanskrit *ō* is merely an I.-Eu. *o* lengthened by loss of *s* why should not it also represent I.-Eu. *ō* after which *s* was lost, as for example in the nom. plur. masc. (Osc. *Nůvlanůs*) Skt. *açvās?* Why do we have *açvā dravanti* and not *açvō dravanti?* On the usual view of the *ō* as a diphthong we should answer, 'because a long vowel is not so likely to be diphthongised in compensation for the loss of a consonant as a short one.' Finally, and this is of course the chief objection, why did *ō* and *ē* in Aryan remain

[1] The question of the changes of *as* in Sanskrit in the middle of words (*madgus*, cf. Lat. *mergus*, *majjati* = *mergit*) is yet another difficulty of which Bloomfield's article makes no mention.

nearer to *ou ei* than to *ā* when they resulted from *-ĕs -ŏs* before a voiced consonant and not elsewhere? And if they were not nearer to the sounds which finally became *ō* and *ē* in Sanskrit than they were to *ā*, is it conceivable that they should have been written *ō ē* and not *ā*?

Osthoff.

70. Osthoff (*Perf.* 1 foll.) begins by pointing out the Zend forms with *az* = Skt. *ē*, and where this equation holds he urges that the loss of the sibilant is a change confined to individual languages, as Latin and Sanskrit, though in some cases (Gr. *ἰδρύω*) the loss is Indo-European. He rejects Brugmann's suggestion of a 'dissimilationstrieb' as a reason for the opposite treatment of the *s* in *sidati* Gr. *ἰδρύω* and *ἵζω ὄζος* Teut. *asts.*, and questions the evidence for the form *hidhaiti* in Zend. The preliminary chapter concludes by enumerating eight points in the case.

1. Skt. *ē* = Zend *az*, in all Bloomfield's examples as well as in *miyedha* = *myazda* 'meat-offering.'

2. The optative *hazdyāt* which Hübschmann has discovered in Yt. 13. 3. It may, it is true, be a late formation on the analogy of forms like **jaghmyāt* **ca-khr-yāt*, but "this proves nothing, since *sēdima* may equally well be a new formation in Sanskrit." It is and must be purely capricious to deny that Sanskrit *ē* = Zend *az*.

3. *Sēdima* for **sādima* is not due to 'a slight difference of pronunciation' of the original and the hysterogen *ē* in Indo-European, because Sanskrit levels rather than preserves small vowel-differences[1].

4. The Latin *sēdimus* may only go back to an Italic **sesdimus*.

The other four points only go to prove the existence of the type of perfect-stem SĒD- in pro-ethnic Indo-European.

Osthoff then gives his own explanation of the facts one by one (p. 15). First he states the law for Indo-European that *s* was lost before voiced explosives when these were followed by a

[1] This was written (1884) before Hübschmann's discovery of Skt. *i* = I.-Eu. *ə*.

second consonant, but kept when it was followed by vowels, *ἱδρύω* but *ἵζω* Zend *roôcēbyô* but *ὄρεσφι*, the variation being due to a different division of the syllables; Zend *nazdyô* Skt. *nēdīyas* should have been **nādyô* and **nādīyas*, but the *az ē* were restored from the superlative form *nazdishtô nēdishthas;* this of course on the supposition that the word dates back to Indo-European. The *ē* from *az* is a change peculiar to Sanskrit and due to the '*i*-colouring' of the *z*. Cf. Arc. *τοῖς ταῖς* = Att. *τοὺς τᾶς* Dor. *τὸνς τὰνς*. Again, in the Sanskrit forms corresponding to Gr. *μίσθος* Zend *mižhdem, mīḍhvāṣ, mīḍhuṣas,* the *ḍh* of the nom. is for *dh* on the analogy of the other cases, the I.-Eu. forms being *mīdhv-, mizdu.* The Zend instr. pl. *raôcēbish* should be *-azbish,* but has been influenced by the dative form in *-ēbyô.* That in this form we have *ē* not *ā* he attributes to the umlaut of the following *y*. The dat. plur. of fem. *ā* stems is always *-ābyo* except in one case, Yt. 10. 93 *haêněbyô,* which Osthoff claims as the true form, the others being new formations. Similarly the *ē* in *sēdus ēdhi,* etc., had nothing to do with the quality of the I.-Eu. *ē*. This follows from the chronological difficulty noticed in Bloomfield's theory, and is also supported by the fact that Skt. *ē* in

kiyēdha from *kiyn̥t-dha,*
mēdha from *mn̥dh-dha* Gr. *μενθήρης,*
nēdishthas Zend *nazdishtô* from I.-Eu. *ná-s(e)d-,*
tṛnēdhi from *tṛ-na-ž-dhi,*

has for its component not I.-Eu. *ĕ* but Aryan *ă* of various other origins. Dr J. Schmidt's view of an '*e*-colouring' in the I.-Eu. *n̥* in the first two cases, Osthoff thinks "hardly needs refutation." The '*i*-colouring' of *z* however does not affect a preceding *ā*, nor *ă* when the *z* is followed by Skt. *j, arādhvam majjati.* [Brugmann (*Gds.* § 591) confines the change to the words in which the *z* is followed by *d* or *dh; zbh* > *dbh* (*mādbhis uṣadbhis vidvadbhis*) *zg* > *dg* (*madgas*) he considers the regular changes.]

Passing then to the changes of final *s* Osthoff (p. 36) develops his theory of the origin of *ō* in Sanskrit before vowels, nasals, liquids and voiced explosives. The 'pause-forms' of *as*

ās in pro-ethnic Aryan were *āḥ āḥ*. These were 'substituted' for *az* and *āz* before voiced explosives, and for *as ās* before vowels and all other consonants *except dentals and palatals, where the* s *was kept,* because of its close physiological connexion with the following sound. *aḥ* became *ō* before voiced consonants, and this was made general in Zend except before enclitics, and in Sanskrit supplanted *aḥ* before vowels, nasals and liquids, while *aḥ* was kept before breathed guttural and labial explosives. *āḥ* became *å* in Zend and *ā* in Skt. before voiced explosives, and these were similarly apportioned. Then the relation of *açvam* : *kavim, sunum* produced *kaviḥ, sunuḥ* as the pause-forms of *kaviṣ sunuṣ*. Then since *pitur*, etc., also became *pituḥ*, etc., before a pause, *kaviḥ sunuḥ* produced an analogical *kavir sunur* in the same position as that in which *pitur* appeared, namely before voiced explosives and vowels. This view of the purely analogical change of *ṣ* to *r* is held also by Bloomfield (*Am. J. P.* 3, p. 31 n.) but rejected by Brugmann, who allows (*Gds.* § 647. 6) a real phonetic change of *ž* to *r* before vowels, nasals and liquids, though the *ž* in this position he has to explain as an analogical substitution for *s*. He does not however reject (§ 556) Osthoff's explanation of the *ô*.

Definite results of the discussion.

71. Having thus reviewed the orthodox position as fully and faithfully as we can, it is at least lawful to point out where it fails of conviction, and to sift its certainties from its conjectures. We may grant Osthoff's law for the loss of *s* in Indo-European, though the direct evidence in its favour is almost confined to the word *ἰδρύω*; we are clearly bound to admit that *ē* in some words came from *az* in Sanskrit after it had split off from Zend, whether or not we hold with Dr J. Schmidt that the *a* retained an '*e*-colouring.' And if we allow the diphthongal character of Sansk. *ē*, as we have seen (supra § 69, p. 97) we must, it becomes immaterial what the exact character of its first component may have been. Nevertheless, admitting all this as fully as we may, we are very far from necessarily rejecting Bloomfield's theory in its entirety. It is quite possible for a change which took place partially in Indo-European and partially in Sanskrit, to have

taken place also in the intermediate stage of pro-ethnic Aryan: the forms in *nazd-* may very well have been formed in Aryan, perhaps on the pattern of *pi-žd-*, at a later time than the loss of *z* before voiced consonants, which Bloomfield supposes took place before *ĕ* and *ŏ* had sunk to *ă*; the word in fact does not seem to occur except in Sanskrit and Zend, and Osthoff himself finds a difficulty in supposing it Indo-European. *hazdyāt* again by Osthoff's own law must be a new formation, and it may just as well have been formed in Zend or later Aryan as at any earlier time. These are the only two forms in Zend which stand in our way since in *mazda-* etc. the *z* is not original and did not belong to the earliest period of Aryan. In Sanskrit however we seem to have clear proof (*madgus majjati*) that *z* was kept medially before gutturals and palatals after the change of *ĕ* and *ŏ* to *ă*, but it is not so certain whether it remained so long before *bh*, since *mādbhis uṣadbhis vidvadbhis* may conceivably be new formations from the loc. pl. in *-tsu*. I do not know whether Osthoff's explanation of *ē* ⋖ *ā* in Zend (supra, p. 99) has been confirmed, but in want of further evidence than he gives in its favour, we are free to regard the forms *ēbyō -ēbish* as shewing a trace of I.-Eu. *e* (*e*ⁱ ⋖ *ez-*) before *-bh-*[1]; the Vedic *avayās*, Zend *manē vacē* etc. are further evidence for Bloomfield's theory which Osthoff does not notice. In any case we have seen that there is no evidence against the view that *z* was lost before *d dh* and *n* in Aryan before the time when *ĕ* and *ŏ* sank to *ă*. All that is essential to Bloomfield's explanation of Sanskrit and Zend *ō* and Prakr. *ē* as arising directly from I.-Eu. final *-ŏs -ĕs* is that we should be allowed to suppose a loss of final *s* before voiced explosives, liquids and nasals in Aryan: and if he were granted its loss only before *d dh n r l* it would not be a great stretch of probability to suppose that the form they took before these was made general before other voiced explosives.

Such are the reservations we must make in deference to Osthoff's arguments, and these are all. But are there no inherent weaknesses in his own position? It is at least a satis-

[1] Indeed until the Zend Avesta is better known can we be certain that other forms with *ē* = Skt. *ē* may not some day be found?

faction to recognise our ignorance. And Osthoff's theory certainly presents very considerable difficulties. They seem fairly obvious but I do not know that they have been definitely pointed out before. Whether or not they are fatal or even serious the reader must decide.

Difficulties of Osthoff's own theory.

72. The basis of the whole structure is a "substitution of the pause-form" for the sound naturally belonging to final *-as -ās* in the middle of the sentence. On the average, we may reckon, a word occurs at the end of a sentence or clause about once for every seven or eight times that it is used elsewhere; by Osthoff's theory we are therefore asked to suppose that the form which a word had one time in eight was felt to be so inherently proper to it that it was substituted for the form it had the other seven times. Even if we suppose the early Aryans averaged only three or four words to a clause the improbability is only reduced to 4 : 1 instead of 8 : 1. And if it is nevertheless a phenomenon to be expected for some reason or other, why is there no illustration forthcoming? Even on its author's own shewing it appears to be without analogy of any kind. But the substitution when made was not completed: *-as* was kept before dentals and palatals, because of the close physiological connexion between them and the preceding *s*. But surely when a particular sound is substituted for another by analogy, by the feeling that the new sound is the correct one, the change is generally carried out with completeness? Are we justified in combining analogy and phonetics in this way? Be this as it may we have a far more serious difficulty to the theory in the fact that *the forms in* -ḥ *are only beginning to appear in use in the Rig-Veda where* -as *is at least as common as* aḥ *before* k(h) *and* p(h). If *-aḥ* was the regular form in pro-ethnic Aryan, how is it we find the older form in Sanskrit? Are we really to suppose another analogical readjustment, *-as t- -as c-* dragging over *-aḥ k- -aḥ p- -aḥ n- -aḥ l-*? *Credat Judaeus.* This difficulty Osthoff does not notice; Brugmann (§ 556. 3) escapes it only by supposing the exceptions *-as k-* etc. made in Aryan to the original substitution of *aḥ-*, so that the pause-form should have

intruded before vowels and voiced consonants but not elsewhere. Such a limitation is purely arbitrary. Everything seems to shew that the change to Visarga is a late change, almost peculiar to post-Vedic Sanskrit. *-ăs -ās -iṣ̌ -uṣ̌ ḁ̄s ī̥š ū̥ṣ̌* are constantly kept (Whitney, c. 2) where later Sanskrit substituted *ḥ* for *s* or *ṣ*. The final *-ē* in Prākrit = Skt. *-as ō* is one of the strongest points in Bloomfield's case, but Osthoff and Brugmann say nothing about it, and their theory leaves it completely unexplained. Finally what of the phonetics of the change of *aḥ* to *au* through the middle stage *aȝ*? Why should a mere emission of breath like *ḥ* produce a lowering of the tongue and rounding of the lips? ȝ (*gh*) is a fairly common sound, e.g. in Teutonic. Does it ever produce a similar labial diphthongisation of the preceding vowel? At all events the change needs illustration and Osthoff gives none.

Change of s to r.

73. It is hardly necessary to criticize Osthoff's analogical explanation of the Sanskrit rhotacism, as it has been rejected by Brugmann. The attempt to explain a change of an individual sound, not of forms in any kind of system, by an analogy on the narrowest conceivable basis, is a noteworthy example of the dangers of the imaginative method. Like Brugmann's derivation of the Greek perfects in *-κα* from the single pattern *ἔδωκα*, it would have been long ago forgotten but for the distinguished position of its author. Such explanations have as a rule the unique advantage that they cannot be directly disproved; but in this case the fact that *ḥ* is only beginning to appear in the Veda while *-r* from *-s* is fully established renders it untenable. Brugmann's view is that *ir ur* came by regular phonetic change from *-iž -už* originally only before vowels, these having been substituted for *-iš -uš* on the pattern of the Sanddhi of voiced explosives. Then *ir ur* displaced *-iž -už* before voiced explosives. This is open to very little objection. Only if we hold that *š* may as easily pass to *rh* as *ž* to *r*, and that before consonants as readily as vowels (supra, §§ 7—9, p. 9) we need not assume quite so much shifting in usage as is necessary for his view. *havišas* would indicate that rhotacism did not take place

Brugmann.

between vowels (it is only an accentual accident that it did so in Latin) but we should consider the *r* the natural phonetic result of an abridged -*ṣ̌* before voiced consonants and similarly perhaps the *ḥ* from *rh* as the true form of *ṣ̌* before *k* and *p*. That before voiced consonants final *š* was kept down to the period of rhotacism, and not changed to *ḍ*, as it was medially, we may ascribe to the influence of its form before vowels and *t c*, just as in Zend where -*ṣ̌* is universal after *i* and *u*. On the other hand there are one or two forms with *r* before breathed consonants which may possibly indicate that the change took place there also (*āçīrpada*, cf. *pūrpati*). This however is quite uncertain; it is at any rate very simple to suppose that the forms with *r* before *d dh b bh* etc. were extended to the position before vowels, e.g. *havir dadāmi*, giving *havir ādadāmi*. This saves us one of Brugmann's two readjustments, which it is to be observed are supposed to act in a contrary direction. A more definite objection to his view is to be found in the regularity of *r* before voiced explosives. If **patī ḍadāti* **patiḍ bharati* had been the regular phonetic forms and -*ir* was only an analogical substitution we should expect to find a certain amount of variation and traces of -*ī*, -*iḍ* at least somewhere. But they do not occur.

74. If then the theories of Bloomfield, Osthoff, and Brugmann still leave us an open question we are likely to be very sceptical of any further attempts at formulating definite explanations. Nevertheless every attempt helps, and equally by its failure or success, so long as it does not violate established principles. The scheme that follows is merely a modification of Bloomfield's theory and claims no positive merit of its own; I shall be more than content if it is found free from serious errors of principle, and at the same time can afford any light for future research by indicating the limits to which the investigation has so far been carried. I leave to the reader's consideration without further comment the history of the various changes in the order that seems to me to involve the fewest difficulties, stating the alternatives in the most doubtful points. What amount of probability may attach to it I cannot decide, but it seems to be at least a possible solution.

A. In Pro-ethnic Aryan.

1. Final.

Modified restatement of Bloomfield's theory.

a. *-ŏs, -ĕs* became o^{u}, e^{i} before voiced explosives[1] and aspirates, and before liquids and nasals.

β. *-ōs, -ēs* became $\bar{o}^{u}$, $\bar{e}^{i}$ under the same conditions.

γ. *-is, -us* became *-iš̆, -uš̆* before all sounds but voiced explosives and *-iž̆, -už̆* before these.

2. Medial.

a. *-zg-, -zj-* remained.

β. *-ezbh-, -ozbh-* probably became $-e^{i}bh-$, $-o^{u}bh-$.

γ. *-ezd-, -ozd-* became $-e^{i}d-$, $-o^{u}d$ and *-ēzd-, -ōzd-* became $-\bar{e}^{i}d-$, $\bar{o}^{u}d-$.

3. Later on

a. *ŏ* and *ĕ* sank to *ă*.

β. o^{u} and e^{i} sank to a^{u} and a^{i}, $\bar{o}^{u}$ and $\bar{e}^{i}$ to $\bar{a}^{u}$ and $\bar{a}^{i}$.

B. In Sanskrit.

1. *a.* i. a^{u}, a^{i} were blended with *au, ai* and became *ō, ē*.

ii. $\bar{a}^{u}$ and $\bar{a}^{i}$ sank to *ā*.

β. *-iž̆-, -už̆-* became the cerebral *iž̆, už̆*, which

i. Medially became *-iḍ- -uḍ-* (Brugmann *Gds.* § 591) except before *d dh*, with which they combined to *-īḍ- -ūḍ-*.

ii. Finally probably remained being kept by

iii. *-iš̆- uš̆-*, which became *iṣ̆ uṣ̆* and so remained before vowels and breathed consonants.

2. *a.* Final *ō* and *ē* both appearing before voiced explosives, etc., where only one sound *-as* appeared before breathed consonants and vowels, *o* was everywhere substituted for *ē* except in Prākrit, where *ē* banished *ō*. On the pattern of the Sanddhi of breathed explosives[2] *ō* was sub-

[1] v. § 71 supra ad fin.

[2] Br. *Gds.* § 647.

stituted for *-as* before vowels and lost its final *u̯* except before *ă*, with which it coalesced, leaving simply *ō*.

β. Medial *-az-*

i. before *d, dh* became *ē*.

ii. before *j* became *-aj-*.

iii. before *g* and (?) *b* became *-ad-*.

3. Later on

α. Final *z̥̆* became *r*, and was substituted for *s̥̆* before vowels as *ō* for *-as*.

β. Final *s̥̆* passed through *rh* to *ḥ* except before dentals and palatals. Its retention here probably caused some variation in the other cases, so that the *ḥ* was not fully adopted until supported by the change of *-as* to *-aḥ*. If we doubt the change to *rh*, we must put *-iḥ* < *is* on a level with *-aḥ* < *as*.

γ. *manōbhis havirbhis* replace the true phonetic forms on the analogy of *manō havir*.

4. Finally *-as* sinks to *aḥ* except before *t, th, c, ch*.

C. In Zend.

1. α. *aˣ aⁱ* became *ō ē*, *āˣ* became *å*.

β. Final *-ās* became *-ā*, except before enclitics which were practically a part of the word.

γ. Final *-ā* became *-ă*.

2. The ending *ō* is everywhere substituted not merely

α. for *ē* but also

β. for *-ăs* (before vowels and breathed consonants)

γ. except before enclitics.

3. *-å* was originally proper before voiced explosives, *-ă* elsewhere.

4. *-iš̆ -uš̆* remain and banish *-iẓ̆ -uẓ̆*.

C. *Final* S *and* R *in Umbrian.*

75. The change of final *s* to *r* in later Umbrian has no direct bearing on the theory advanced in the preceding chapters, but the subject is of course closely related to it and it is desirable to put the facts on record more definitely than has been hitherto attempted. Brugmann (*Gds.* § 655. 9) expressly leaves it an open question whether there are any phonetic conditions which determine the loss or retention of the *r*, or whether its occasional omission is merely due to a careless engraver. Whether or not any such conditions can be discovered will best appear from a few statistics. We have to exclude from consideration all words in which final *s* never became *r*, i.e. those, *and only those*, in which it was only the written representative of a stronger sound, *-ss -s(t) -ns -cs -ps* or the like, e.g. *homonus aveis, fus, sis, vas, erus* (Bücheler, *Umbrica*, p. 184). Also we must distinguish the loss of *-f* (= orig. *-ns*) from that of a genuine *-s* or *-r*. Final *r* is not omitted in V VI and VII in any words in which *s* is kept in the earlier period (except *sei si* (= *sis*) which does not happen to occur at all in I—IV), so that there is, strictly speaking, no loss of final *r*, only of final *s*; hence we must first see where final *s* is dropped in Tables I—IV.

76. In Table I *a*, *s* is kept sixteen times (five times in one phrase) before *a, e, p, t, v, j,* and a pause, and dropped once in the adverb *heri(s)* before *p*. *Final s in Tables I—IV.*

In I *b*, *s* is kept twenty-one times, before *a, e, i, k, p, t, h, s, s'*, and a pause, and dropped four times, before *a, k, p, t* = *d*.

In II *a*, *s* is kept nineteen times, before *p, k, f, s, m, v*, once before *t* = *d* (l. 28), and lost five times before *a, p* and a pause.

In II *b*, *s* is kept twelve times, before *k, p, f, m*, and a pause, once before *t* = *d*, and dropped twenty-eight times (twenty-seven in a long list of names in which it is kept twice) and once in the adverb *heri(s)*, before *a, e, i, k, p, t, s, m, v*.

In III and IV *s* is kept forty-two times before *a, e, i, k, p, t, f, s, n, v, h*, and dropped three times before *a, e, s*.

From this it seems to follow that *no rule for the loss or retention of* s *in the older period can be based upon the character of the following sound*, so far as we can tell from the evidence we have. Curiously words with final *s* only occur twice before voiced explosives ($t = d$), and in one place it is kept and in the other omitted. Before all other classes of sound it seems equally kept and lost. On the other hand all words in which it is lost have one characteristic in common and it can hardly be accidental, *they are all datives or ablatives plural* ending in *-e(s) -ei(s) -i(s)*, except the adverb *heri*, where the *i* is probably long. We might conjecture then that *after long vowels* s *was regularly lost* under certain further conditions (e.g. before a pause or before some classes of following sounds or perhaps in enclitics, or again in words of more than a certain number of syllables where the last would be further from the accent) which we have no evidence to determine. Then the two forms would be confused and their proper positions obscured in usage.

Final r *in V—VII.*

77. The variations of final *r* are much smaller. In VI and VII it is only omitted in *heri hertei* (and there always) and twice in *sei si* for *sis* (VI *a* 23, *b* 27). Seeing however that these two tables are only modernised copies of documents in which final *s* was regular, not much reliance can be placed on their apparent consistency in this respect. The engraver probably adopted a uniform spelling for the same grammatical forms wherever they occurred. In VI *b* 27 *si* (followed by a vowel) and *sir* (followed by *p*) occur side by side, the former being, we may conclude, the genuine form. In V however, which very possibly contains original, not copied, documents, there is less regularity. In the first section (*a* 1—13) not counting *herte r* is lost twice, once in *emantu herte* (*emantur herte* occurring just below) and once in a dative plur. *eikvasese Atiedier*; *r* appears before *a, e, u, p, h.* In the next section (*a* 14—*b* 5) it is lost in this same phrase, but kept before *a, e, u, p, t = d, f.* In the fragment in Latin alphabet we have it once omitted before *d* in the same case, *Claverni dirsans frater Atiersiur*, and kept before *a, e, o, p, d, s, m.*

Summing up then we may feel certain of this much, that

final *s* or final *r* that has come from *s* so far as our evidence extends are only lost after *long vowels or diphthongs.* In *emantur* the *r* is probably original. What further conditions caused its loss or retention it seems impossible to discover. But the statistics given above will be available for further investigation, and may very likely prove more intelligible to other eyes than they are to mine.

I need scarcely ask the reader to follow the variations of the writing in the case of final *f*. One tendency seems distinctly observable, both in I—IV and VI and VII, to *write it only once in phrases where it occurs at the end of each word in the phrase.* This would seem to indicate that it only existed in spelling at the time when the copy was made. However in the probably uncopied Va we have it written once, and in Vb it is once written and twice omitted, all four times before a pause. It is hardly worth while to pronounce any decision on evidence so confused.

APP. D. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATIN PERFECT. OSTHOFF, AND

	A. *Indo-European.*		B. *Latin. First Stage.*
1 α. Th. O. Br.	u̯oi̯da	β. u̯idai	vĭdī
	u̯oi̯tʰtha	u̯itsai	visti
	u̯oi̯de	u̯itʰtai	vĭde
	u̯idma$^{xs}_{m}$} ?		vĭdimus
	u̯itʰte		vistis
	u̯idn̥ti		vĭdont†
2 α. Th., not O. nor Br.	eu̯ei̯dəsm̥		veidisem
	eu̯ei̯dəss		veidīs
	eu̯ei̯dəst		veidist
	eu̯ei̯dəsma^{x}(s)		veidimus†
	eu̯ei̯dəsta^{x}(s)		veidistis†
	eu̯ei̯dəsn̥t		veidis$^{e}_{o}$nt
2 β. Th. O. Br.	edei̯ksm̥		deixem
	edei̯kss		deix
	edei̯kst		deixt
	edei̯ks(ə')ma^{x}(s)		deix(i)mus†
	edei̯ksta^{x}(s)		deixtis†
	edei̯ksn̥t		deixent

† Primary and secondary terminations were levelled in Latin.

Then 1. Middle and Act. of perfect fused ·.· of short vowel of pl. active.

2. [1]Phonetic development of Aor., and loss of augment.

3. Levelling of 1st pers. plur. perf. in consonant and vowel stems and also to anaptyptic vowel in *deiximus*.

4. Levelling of 3rd pers. plur. to thematic *-ont*.

Then 5. *s* becomes *r* in the 1st pers. sing. and 3rd pers. plur. of aor.

6. *veidīs* gives *veidīt* for *veidist* on ·/. of *videris*, *viderit*, helped by *regimus*, *regit*.

7. *veidīs*, *veidīt* give *veidī* on ·/. of subj. *deicē*, *deicēs*, *deicēt*, supported by *vīdi*, *sēdi*.

[1] Osthoff (*Perf.* p. 570) would insert here another stage: "2nd pl. **visis* altered to *vistis* on ·/. of *estis*, etc., and the variants *visis vistis* give rise to *visti* as well as *visi*." This seems unnecessary, as it is quite possible that *tth* became *st* in Latin, though *tt* may have at once become *ss*, or, more probably, remained as it was, and *visti* would drag over **vittis*.

SIMPLIFIED FROM THE THEORIES OF THURNEYSEN, BRUGMANN.

C. *Latin. Second Stage.*		D. *Final Stage.*	
vĭdī		fĭdi	tutudi
visti		fidisti	etc.
vĭde ? vided		fidit	(= तुतुदे
vĭdimus	(2)	fidimus	etc.)
vistis		fidistis	
vĭdo(nt)		fidērunt	
		-ēre	

{veidī		veīdī	
{veiderem			
veidīs		veidistī	
veidīt		veidīt	
veidimus	(1)	veidimus	
veidistis		veidistis	
veidĕr$^{e(nt)}_{ont}$		veidĕrunt -ērunt	
		-ĕre -ēre	

			(3)	(4)
deixem	(2)	deixi	dixī	
deix		deixti	dixti	dixisti
deixt		deixīt	dixīt	
deiximus	(1)	deiximus	diximus	
deixtis		deixtis	dixtis	dixistis
deixent		deix$^{o}_{e}$nt	dixērunt	
			-ēre	

Then 8. The Aorist finally remodelled on the Perfect; *vĭdimus, vistis, vĭdi* : *visti* gives to *veidimus, veidistis, veidi, deiximus, deixtis* : *veidisti, deixti.*

9. *veidī, veidīt* give *deixi, deixīt.*

Then 10. The expelled *veiderem* forms the pluperfect.

11. Finally the remodelled aorist imposes its flexion on all genuine perfects like *vidi, dedi, fidi, tutudi,* and

12. on *dixi.*

The advantages of this arrangement are

1. That it supposes a fairly continuous development, each stage in the process being so to speak *homogeneous* until it is completed.

α. The singular perfect active is *remodelled* on

i. the plural perfect active,

ii. the singular perfect middle, and

iii. different forms *within its own system* are *levelled.*

β. The *aorist* which has

i. meanwhile undergone phonetic change and consequent internal analogical readjustment,

ii. is now gradually and consistently remodelled on the plan of the perfect, which still survives.

iii. The loss of its 1st person by rhotacism precipitates the fusion of the tenses, and

γ. The flexion of the aorist is now transferred bodily to the perfect as well.

2. By taking the aorist as the back-bone of the structure it avoids the difficulty of lengthening the stem-vowel of the perfect.

3. It shortens the process by which *t* or *d* is added to the 3rd pers. sing. of the form with a long stem-vowel.

4. It accepts the aid of both methods of explaining the formation of the 2nd pers. sing. in *-isti*, and

5. This part of the scheme is not vitiated by Osthoff's objection to "u̯eidəsm̥ etc." in I.-Eu. since *deiximus, deixtis* would give *deixti* on the ·/.[1] of *vĭdimus, vĭstis, vĭsti.*

6. Osthoff's objection (*Perf.* p. 571) to the accent *veídesmus sédesbos* by the side of *Casména *pruzvína* is now removed if we suppose the first to have belonged to the older, the others to the later stage of the Latin accent: v. supra, p. 65 foll.

[1] ·/. = analogy.

INDEX OF WORDS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

L.	Latin	I.-Eu.	Indo-European
O.	Oscan	Skt.	Sanskrit
U.	Umbrian	Zd.	Zend
Aeq.	Aequian	O. C. S.	Old Church Slavonic
Etr.	Etruscan	Goth.	Gothic
Fal.	Faliscan	Ger.	German
Mars.	Marsian	Fr.	French
Mruc.	Marrucinian	Prov.	Provençal
Pel.	Pelignian	Port.	Portuguese
Pic.	Picentine	Sp.	Spanish
Sab.	Sabine	Walc.	Wallachian
Vol.	Volscian	In.	Italian
Ic.	Pro-ethnic Italic		

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